

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION  
OF THE NEW CHEMISTRY BUILDING  
HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 26, 1936, 5.00 P.M.

Mr. Secretary, President Johnson, ladies and gentlemen:

I am proud and happy on behalf of the United States of America to dedicate this building. (Applause) And I have been greatly interested in learning a moment ago from the Chairman of the Executive Committee that the origin of Howard University was in a house of prayer. (Applause)

I have a special interest in Howard (University) for one reason, because the Government of the United States has long had a special relationship to this institution.

Since 1879 Congress has made continuous and increasing appropriation year by year to help meet the general expenses of the University and its various departments -- and to provide new buildings. And in part at least the Department of the Interior shares in the responsibility for the administration of the University. In a very real sense, therefore, Howard is one of the Nation's institutions. (Applause)

But I would be interested in this University even though the Government had no such relationship to it. (Applause)

Its founding, many years ago, as an institution for the American Negro was a significant occasion. It typified

America's faith in the ability of man to respond to opportunity regardless of race, or creed or color. (Applause)

The American Negro's response to this opportunity in the field of higher learning has been prompt and eager as in other fields. In 1867 at the first term (of Howard University) ninety-four students enrolled. Today there are nearly two thousand students on the lists.

Howard University has (not only) grown not only (steadily) in numbers, but it has grown also steadily in the range of its courses. To provide equal opportunities for Negro men and women, the University offers instruction in its colleges of liberal arts, medicine, dentistry, (and) pharmacy and in the schools of law, engineering, architecture and music. A graduate school, recently organized, attracts graduates of other colleges and universities and has helped to make Howard (University) a real center of Negro culture in America. (Applause)

(Howard) With justification you may take pride in its high standards of scholarship among other American universities. Its schools of law and medicine, for instance, are I am told rated among the Class-A schools in the whole of the United States. (Nation)

Despite the constant raising of the scholastic standards of the University, as the years went by, the demand for higher training, higher education among our Negro citizens

has increased to an extent which has created a strain upon its facilities.

And so the Federal Government has provided three new structures for it at this time, and there are more to come. (Applause) These structures, this building program, represent the happy conjunction of two important Federal Government programs to meet the difficulties of the depression. They are a part of our nation-wide projects to reduce unemployment by building useful public works. They are also a part of our nation-wide program to ensure the normal maintenance and necessary expansion of educational facilities for youth even in a time of depression.

Our purpose was not only to provide work in all sections for all parts of the population, but to enable them all to share in the benefits to be obtained from these works so long as bricks and mortar shall endure. As far as it (was) is humanly possible, the Government has followed the policy that among American citizens there should be no forgotten men and no forgotten races. (Applause) It (is) seems to me to be a wise and truly American policy. And we shall continue faithfully to observe it.

Howard University has shared as of right in our public works program. These Government-financed improvements in the facilities of this great center of Negro education should enable it to continue to provide for its students cultural opportunities comparable to those offered by other

first-class institutions of higher learning in the country.

At its last commencement Howard (University) sent forth two hundred and forty-five graduates to join nearly ten thousand Alumni in all parts of the world. Here is a record of which the Negro race may well be proud. It is a record of which America is proud. (Applause) It is a further fulfillment of our dream of providing better and better educational facilities for all our people.

And so, today, we dedicate this new chemistry building, this temple of science, to industrious and ambitious youth. May they come here and learn the lessons of science and carry the benefits of science to their fellow-men.  
(Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK  
October 30, 1936, 10.30 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Mrs. Good,  
Chairman.)

No campaign, to me, would be complete without coming back to the old Academy of Music. (Applause) And I was very happy that my train reached New York in time for me to get here in time to listen to that splendid report from our great Governor of our great State.

During the last month or two I have seen a great deal of our country and a great many of our people. Both the America and the Americans I have seen look very different from what they did three and a half years ago. (Applause)

Many important things have happened (to them in those three and a half years) in the meantime. I could talk to you for hours about this better, happier America. (Applause) What I am going to talk to you about for a few minutes, however, is some of the things that have brought about that better, happier America. (to pass) I want to tell you in terms of actual achievement what we in Washington have done -- what we have done to restore prosperity -- what we have done to restore prosperity and what we have done to end abuses.

The first thing before us on that famous fourth of March, 1933, was to give aid to those overtaken by disaster. We did that, and we are not ashamed of giving help to those who needed (help) it. (Applause) We furnished food relief, drought relief, flood relief, work relief. We established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; the Public Works Administration; the Civilian Conservation Corps; the Works Progress Administration. Some people ridicule them as alphabetical agencies. But you and I know that they are the agencies that have substituted food for starvation; work for idleness; hope instead of dull despair. (Applause)

And on November third, America will say that that was a job well done! (Applause)

The second thing we did was to help our stalled economic engine to get under way again. We knew enough about the (mechanism) mechanics of our economic order to know that we could not do that, one wheel at a time. We had (had) enough of one-wheel economics. (Applause) We proposed to get all four wheels started at once. We knew that it was no good to try to start only the wheel of finance. At the same time we had to start the wheels of agriculture, of workers of all classes, of business and industry.

And by democratizing the work of agencies like

the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and redirecting it into more practical and helpful channels we furnished fuel for the machine.

We primed the pump by spending government money in direct relief, in work relief, in public works.

We established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; the National Recovery Administration; (prolonged applause) the Farm Credit Administration; the Soil Conservation Program; the Home Owners Loan Corporation; (applause) the Federal Housing Administration; (applause) the Tennessee Valley Authority; the Resettlement Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration. We set up a sound monetary policy; a sound banking structure; we established reciprocal trade agreements and foreign exchange accords.

Yes, we (set up) created a National Labor Relations Board to improve working conditions and seek industrial peace. We brought the business men of the Nation together to encourage them to increase wages, to shorten working hours, to abolish child labor. (Applause) With labor's aid and backing we took the first great step for workers security by the Social Security Act and I am glad that the Governor has talked to you about it. I am going to talk to you some more about it. It is an act which is now being misrepresented to the workers in a pay-envelope propaganda by a few employers whom you will easily recognize as old-time

exploiters of labor who have always fought against contributing anything themselves to a sound security for the laboring man and his wife and children. (Applause)

That Act, my friends, is a new Magna Charta for those who work. (Applause) In its preparation and (in) its enactment, it was supported not only by organized labor but by those other liberal groups -- unorganized workers, employers, churches, private charities, educators, all those fine men and women throughout the Nation who for many years have believed that modern government can make provision against the hardship of unemployment and the terrors of old age.

And note this: On the passage of this law, in addition to overwhelming support on the part of Democrats in both (the) House and Senate, the country should (note) remember that seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it, and that in the Senate fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it. (Applause)

(This) That fact is perhaps illustrative of the paradox that in the closing days of the campaign a distraught Republican leadership driven to desperation and urged on by the same sinister forces which generation after generation have opposed all social legislation, that Republican leadership now repudiates (their) its own Representatives and Senators in the halls of the Congress and leave them looking

positively silly. (Applause, laughter) (Audience: That includes Al Smith.)

The people of the State of New York recognize in this issue in a national campaign only another form of the struggle to which we have become accustomed in this State for many years past. Every man and woman (here) knows that we have been blessed with these great social reforms because we have had a liberal government in Albany. We know that we would not have had them if the Old Guard Republican leadership had been in power. (Boos)

Governor Lehman has not merely exemplified (applause) in his splendid (interrupted by applause) -- our Governor has not merely exemplified in his splendid objectives this spirit of far-sighted progress, but he has practiced what he has preached, (applause) and thereby has continued to strengthen the civic conscience of the people of this State. There are none among you who believe that on Tuesday next there is one chance in a thousand that New York (State) will turn its government back to the Old Guard. (Applause)

To (go back) return to what the Federal Government has done in the past three and (one) a half years, some people call these things which have re-started our economic machine, they call them waste. Yet you and I know that they (are) have been the means by which our stalled machine (was started again) has been started on the road once more.

And on November third America will say that that was a job well done! (Applause)

The third thing we did was to look to the future -- to root out abuses -- to establish every possible defense against a return of the evils which brought the crash. We established the Securities Exchange Commission; (applause) banking reforms; a sound monetary policy; deposit insurance for fifty million bank accounts; (applause) -- all of them aimed to safeguard the thrift of our citizens.

By our tax policy and by regulating financial markets, we loosened the grip which monopolies had fastened upon independent American business. We have begun also to free American business and American labor from the unfair competition of a small unscrupulous minority. We established by statute a curb upon the overweening power and unholy practices of (some) certain utility holding companies. (Applause)

By the Rural Electrification Act, by the Tennessee Valley Authority and similar projects we set up yardsticks to bring electricity at cheaper rates to the average American farm and the average American home, be it in the country or in the city. Through loans to private enterprise and in cooperation with cities we promoted slum-clearance and established low-cost modern housing. We set up a National Youth Administration to help keep our youth in school and to hold open for them the door of opportunity. By a

successful war on crime we have made America's homes and places of business safer against the gangster, the kidnapper and the racketeer.

Yes, some people call these things meddling and interference. But you and I know them to be new stones in a foundation -- a foundation on which we can build and are determined to build a structure of economic security for all our people -- a safer, happier, cheerier, more certain, more American America. (Applause)

On November third, the American people will say that that is a job well begun! (Applause)

These are the things that we have done. They are a record of three and a half years crowded with achievements significant of better life for all the people. Every group in our national life has benefitted, because what we have done for each group has produced benefits for every other group. In our policies there are no distinctions between them. There will be none. If we are in trouble, my friends, we are all of us in trouble together. If we are to be prosperous, if we are to be secure, we must all be prosperous and secure together. (Applause)

No, we are getting away from distinctions between East and West and North and South, between country and city. We are becoming a more united America. And that reminds me that I promised, on the train, to read a telegram that came to me on the train. It says this: "In the morning the

sunflower turns to the East. In the afternoon the sunflower turns to the West. And it goes to seed before November."

(Applause)

Unfortunately, those who now raise the cry of class distinctions are the very leaders whose policies in the past have fostered such distinctions. When they were in power, they were content in the belief that the chief function of Government was to help only those at the top in the pious hope that the few at the top would in their benevolence or generosity pass that help on.

That theory of Government has been banished from Washington. It did not work. (Applause) It was not and cannot be the answer to our problem. We have united all classes in the nation in a program for the nation. And, in doing that, we (have bridged) are bridging the gulf of antagonism which twelve years of neglect had opened (up) between them.

An equally important task remains to be done: To go forward, to consolidate and to strengthen these gains -- to close the gap by destroying the glaring inequalities of opportunity and of security which, in the recent past, have set group against group and region against region.

By our policies for the future we will carry forward this program of unity. We will not be content until all our people fairly share in the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its

citizens.

On November third, the American people will say that our policy for the future is their policy for the future. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
To the Congress of the United States  
The Capitol, Washington, D. C.  
January 6, 1941.

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS:

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our Government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. And fortunately, only one of these -- the four-year War between the States -- ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity. (Applause)

It is true that prior to 1914, the United States often has (had) been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case (however) had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition, clear, definite opposition, to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas. (Applause)

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, in the early days during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain, nor any other nation, was aiming at domination of the whole world.

And in like fashion from 1815 to 1914 -- 99 years -- no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength. (Applause)

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, as we remember, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not over-emphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny. (Applause)

I suppose that every realist knows that the democratic way of

life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world -- assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. And the assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union", I find it, unhappily, necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and Australasia will be dominated by (the) conquerors. And let us remember that the total of those populations in those four continents, the total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere -- yes, many times over.

In times like these it is immature -- and incidentally, untrue -- for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion -- or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors.

"Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety." (Applause)

As a nation, we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed. (Applause)

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests. (Applause)

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe -- particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and by their dupes -- and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they -- not we -- will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

And that is why the future of all the American Republics of (is) today is in serious danger.

And that is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive branch of the Government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility -- (and) great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily -- almost exclusively -- to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end. (Applause)

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. (Applause) By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to

acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom. (Applause)

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. And today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases -- and I am sorry to say very important cases -- we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability, and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done. (Applause)

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give you two illustrations:

We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new (and) plant facilities, (and) new assembly lines, and new ship ways must first be constructed before the actual materiel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. (Applause) They do not need man power, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them they must surrender, merely because of present inability to that pay for the weapons which we

know they must have. (Applause)

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. And nearly all of their materiel would, if the time ever came, be useful in (for) our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense. (Applause)

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid, repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, repaid in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds, which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. That (This) is our purpose and our pledge." (Prolonged applause)

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or (and) as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be. (Applause)

And when the dictators, and if the dictators, are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend (up)on how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger. (Applause)

Yes, and we must all prepare -- all of us prepare -- to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- almost as serious as war itself -- demands. whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense -- in defense preparations of any kind -- must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government. (Applause)

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from (an) unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that (which) we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all

the things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, (and) basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions

and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. And I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I will recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying for today. (applause)  
No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause. (Applause)

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want -- which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception -- the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change -- in a perpetual peaceful revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions -- without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights <sup>and</sup> (or) keep them. Our strength is (in) our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory. (Vigorous and prolonged applause)

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THIRD INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
FROM THE STEPS OF THE CAPITOL  
January 20, 1941.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, MY FRIENDS:

On each national day of Inauguration since 1789, the people have renewed their sense of dedication to the United States.

In Washington's day the task of the people was to create and weld together a nation.

In Lincoln's day the task of the people was to preserve that nation from disruption from within.

In this day the task of the people is to save that nation and its institutions from disruption from without.

To us, to us there has come a time, in the midst of swift happenings, to pause for a moment and take stock -- to recall what our place in history has been, and to rediscover what we are and what we may be.

If we do not, we risk the real peril of isolation, the real peril of inaction.

Lives of nations are determined not by the count of years, but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The life of a man is threescore years and ten; a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the fullness of the measure of its will to live.

There are men who doubt this. There are men who believe that democracy, as a form of government and a frame of life, is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate -- that, for some unexplained reason, tyranny and slavery have become the surging wave of the future -- and that freedom is an ebbing tide.

But we Americans know that this is not true.

Eight years ago, when the life of this Republic seemed frozen by a fatalistic terror, we proved that this is not true. We were in the midst of shock -- but we acted. We acted quickly, boldly, decisively.

These later years have been living years -- fruitful years for the people of the (this) democracy. For they have brought to us greater security and, I hope, a better understanding that life's ideals are to be measured in other than material things.

Most vital to our present and to our future is this experience of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, through it all, maintained the fact of its democracy.

For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of the Government continue freely to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. Prophets of the downfall of American democracy have seen their dire predictions come to naught.

No, democracy is not dying. (Applause)

We know it because we've (have) seen it revive -- and grow.

We know it cannot die -- because it is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise -- an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority. (Applause)

We know it because democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of men's enlightened will.

We know it because democracy alone has constructed an unlimited civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

We know it because, if we look below the surface, we sense it

still spreading on every continent -- for it is the most humane, the most advanced, and in the end the most unconquerable of all forms of human society. (Applause)

A nation, like a person, has a body -- a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and rested, in a manner that measures up to the standards (objectives) of our time.

A nation, like a person, has a mind -- a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and the needs of its neighbors -- all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world.

(And) A nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to its future -- which calls forth the most sacred guarding of its present.

It is a thing for which we find it difficult -- even impossible -- to hit upon a single, simple word.

And yet, yet we all understand what it is -- the spirit -- the faith of America. (Applause) It is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitudes of those who came from many lands -- some of high degree, but mostly plain people -- who sought here, early and late, to find freedom more freely.

The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase in human history. It is human history. It permeated the ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the middle ages. It was written in Magna Carta.

In the Americas its impact has been irresistible. America has been the New World in all tongues, and to all peoples, not because this continent was a new-found land, but because all (those) who came here believed

they could create upon this continent a new life -- a life that should be new in freedom.

Its vitality was written into our (own) Mayflower Compact, into the Declaration of Independence, into the Constitution of the United States, into the Gettysburg Address.

Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them -- all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal which in itself has gained stature and clarity with each generation.

The hopes of the Republic cannot forever tolerate either undeserved poverty or self-serving wealth. (Scattered applause)

We know that we still have far to go; that we must more greatly build the security and the opportunity and the knowledge of every citizen, in the measure justified by the resources and the capacity of the land.

But it is not enough to achieve these purposes alone. It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this nation, to (and) instruct, to (and) inform its mind. For there is also the spirit. And of the three, the greatest is the spirit.

Without the body and (the) mind, as all men know, the nation could not live.

But if the spirit of America were killed, even though the nation's body and mind, constricted in an alien world, lived on, the America we know would have perished. (Applause)

That spirit -- that faith -- speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem so obvious. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States. It speaks to us in

our counties, in our cities, in our towns, and in our villages. It speaks to us from the other nations of the Hemisphere, and from those across the seas -- the enslaved, as well as the free. Sometimes we fail to hear or heed these voices of freedom because to us the privilege of our freedom is such an old, old story.

The destiny of America was proclaimed in words of prophecy spoken by our first President in his first Inaugural in 1789 -- words almost directed, it would seem, to this year of 1941: "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered ..... deeply, ..... finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people". (Applause)

If you and I -- if we, in this later day -- (we) lose that sacred fire -- if we let it be smothered with doubt and fear -- then we shall reject the destiny which Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish. The preservation of the spirit and faith of the nation does, and will, furnish the highest justification for every sacrifice that we may make in the cause of national defense. (Applause)

In the face of great perils never before encountered, our strong purpose is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy.

For this, for this we muster the spirit of America, and the faith of America.

We do not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans, we go forward, in the service of our country, by the will of God. (Prolonged applause)

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
at the  
Dedication of the National Gallery of Art  
Washington, D.C.  
March 17, 1941, 10.00 P.M., E.S.T.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is with a very real sense of satisfaction that I accept for the people of the United States and on their behalf this National Gallery and the collections it contains. The giver of (the) this building has matched the richness of his gift with the modesty of his spirit, stipulating that the Gallery shall be known not by his name but by the nation's. And those other collectors of paintings and of sculpture who have already joined, or who propose to join, their works of art to Mr. Mellon's -- Mr. Kress and Mr. Widener -- have felt the same desire to establish, not a memorial to themselves, but a monument to the art that they love and the country to which they belong. To these collections we now gratefully add the gift (from) of Miss Ellen Bullard and three anonymous donors, which marks the beginning of the Gallery's collection of prints; and also the loan collection of early American paintings from Mr. Chester Dale.

There have been, in the past, many gifts of great paintings and of famous works of art to the American people. Most of the wealthy men of the last century who bought, for their own satisfaction, the masterpieces of European collections, ended by presenting their purchases to their cities or to their towns. And so great works of art have a way of breaking out of private ownership into public use. They belong so obviously to all who love them -- they are so clearly the property not of their single owners but of all men everywhere -- that the private rooms and houses where they (are) have lovingly hung in the past become in time too narrow for their presence.

The true collectors are the collectors who understand this -- the collectors of great paintings who feel that they can never truly own, but only gather and preserve for all who love them, the treasures that they have found.

But though there have been many public gifts of art in the past, the gift of this National Gallery, dedicated to the entire nation, (and) containing a considerable part of the most important work brought to this country from the continent of Europe, has necessarily a new significance. I think, I think it signifies a relation -- a new relation here made visible in paint and in stone -- between the whole people of this country, and the old inherited tradition of the arts. And we shall remember that these halls of beauty, the (creation) conception of a great American architect, John Russell Pope, combine the classicism of the past with the convenience of today.

In accepting this building and the paintings and other art that it contains, the people of the United States accept a part in that inheritance for themselves. They accept it for themselves not because this Gallery is given to them -- though they are thankful for the gift. They accept it for themselves because, in the past few years, they have come to understand that the inheritance is theirs and that, like other inheritors of other things of great value, they have a duty toward it.

There was a time when the people of this country would not have thought that the inheritance of art belonged to them or that they had responsibilities to guard it. A few generations ago, the people of this country were often taught by their writers and by their critics and by their teachers to believe that art was something foreign to America and to themselves -- something imported from another continent, something (and) from an age which was not theirs -- something they had no part in, save to go to see it in (a)

some guarded room on holidays or Sundays.

But recently, within the last few years (,) -- yes, in our lifetime -- they have discovered that they have a part. They have seen in their own towns, in their own villages, in school houses, in post offices, in the back rooms of shops and stores, pictures painted by their sons, their neighbors -- people they have known and lived beside and talked to. They have seen, across these last few years, rooms full of painting and sculpture by Americans, walls covered with the painting (of) by Americans -- some of it good, some of it not so good, but all of it native, human, eager, and alive -- all of it painted by their own kind in their own country, and painted about things that they know and look at often and have touched and loved.

The people of this country know now, whatever they were taught or thought of, or thought they knew before, that art is not something just to be owned (but) or something to be made: that it is the act of making and not the act of owning (which) that is art. And knowing this they know also that art is not a treasure in the past or an importation from another (country) land, but part of the present life of all the living and creating peoples -- all who make and build; and, most of all, the young and vigorous peoples who have made and built our present wide country.

It is for this reason that the people of America accept the inheritance of these ancient arts. Whatever these paintings may have been to men who looked at them (a) generations back -- today they are not only works of art. Today they are the symbols of the human spirit, (and) symbols of the world the freedom of the human spirit has made -- and, incidentally, a world against which armies now are raised and countries overrun and men imprisoned and their work destroyed.

To accept, today, the work of German painters such as Holbein and

Durer, (and) of Italians like Botticelli and Raphael, (and) of painters of the Low Countries like Van Dyck and Rembrandt, and of famous Frenchmen, famous Spaniards -- to accept this work today (on behalf of) for the people of this democratic nation is to assert the belief of the people of this democratic nation in a human spirit which now is everywhere endangered and which, in many countries where it first found form and meaning, has been rooted out and broken and destroyed.

To accept this work today is to assert the purpose of the people of America that the freedom of the human spirit and human mind which has produced the world's great art and all its science -- shall not be utterly destroyed.

Seventy-eight years ago, in the third year of the War Between the States, men and women gathered here in the Capital of a divided nation, here in Washington, to see the dome above the Capitol completed and to see the bronze Goddess of Liberty set upon the top. It had been an expensive and laborious business, diverting money and labor from the prosecution of the war, and certain (citizens) critics -- for there were critics in 1863 -- certain critics found much to criticize. There were new marble pillars in the Senate wing of the Capitol; (and) there was a bronze door for the central portal and other such expenditures and embellishments. But the President of the United States, whose name was Lincoln, when he heard (the) those criticisms, answered: "If people see the Capitol going on, it is a sign that we intend (the) this Union shall go on". (Applause)

We may borrow the words for our own. We too intend the Union shall go on. We intend it shall go on, carrying with it the great tradition of the human spirit which created it.

The dedication of this Gallery to a living past, and to a greater

and more richly living future, is the measure of the earnestness of our intention that the freedom of a human spirit shall go on (.) and too.

(Applause)

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
LABOR DAY  
SEPTEMBER 1, 1941

On this day -- this American holiday -- we (celebrate) are celebrating the rights of free laboring men and women.

The preservation of these rights is (now) vitally important now, not only to us who enjoy them -- but to the whole future of Christian civilization.

American labor now bears a tremendous responsibility in the winning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars.

In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building weapons on a scale great in its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of (the) this world these weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over the seas and through the air. And this nation is now devising and developing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

Why are we doing this? Why are we determined to devote our entire industrial effort to the prosecution of a war which has not yet actually touched our (own) shores?

We are not a warlike people. (We have) We've never sought glory as a nation of warriors. We are not interested in aggression. We are not interested -- as the dictators are -- in looting. We do not covet one square inch of the territory of any other nation.

Our vast effort, and the unity of purpose (which) that inspires that effort, are due solely to our recognition of the fact that our fundamental rights -- including the rights of labor -- are threatened by Hitler's violent attempt to rule the world.

These rights were established by our forefathers on the field

of battle. They have been defended -- at great cost but with great success -- on the field of battle, here on our own soil, and in foreign lands, and on all the seas all over the world.

(There has) There's never been a moment in our history when Americans were not ready to stand up as free men and fight for their rights.

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are interdependent.

The right of freedom of worship would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise.

That is the indestructible bond that is between us -- between all of us Americans: Interdependence of interests, privileges, opportunities, responsibilities -- interdependence of rights.

That is what unites us -- men and women of all sections, of all races, of all faiths, of all occupations, of all political beliefs. That is why we have been able to defy and frustrate the enemies who believed that they could divide us and conquer us from within.

These enemies all know that we possess a strong Navy -- a Navy gaining in strength. They know that that Navy -- as long as the Navies of the British Empire and the Netherlands and Norway and Russia exist -- can together guarantee the freedom of the seas. These enemies know also that if these other Navies are destroyed, the American Navy cannot now, or in the future, maintain the freedom of the seas against all the rest of the world.

These enemies know that our Army is increasing daily in its all-round strength.

These enemies know that today the chief American fighters in the

battles now raging are those engaged in American industry, employers and employees alike.

These enemies know that the course of American production in the past year has shown enormous gains and that the product of these industries is moving to the battle fronts -- the battle fronts against Hitlerism in increasing volume each day.

But these enemies also know that our American effort is not yet enough -- and that unless we step up the total of our production and more greatly safeguard it on its journeys to the battlefields, these enemies will take heart in pushing their attack in (old) fields--old and new.

I give solemn warning to those who think that Hitler has been blocked and halted, that they are making a very dangerous assumption. When in any war your enemy seems to be making slower progress than he did the year before, that is the very moment to strike with redoubled force -- to throw more energy into the job of defeating him -- to end for all time the menace of world conquest and thereby end all talk or thought of any peace founded on a compromise with evil itself.

And we know that a free labor system is the very foundation of a functioning democracy. We know that one of the first acts of the Axis dictatorship(s) has been to wipe out all the principles and standards which labor (has) had been able to establish for its own preservation and advancement.

Trade unionism is a forbidden philosophy under these rule or ruin dictators. For trade unionism demands full freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. Trade unionism has helped to give to every one who toils the position of dignity which is his due.

The present position of labor in the United States as an inter-

dependent unit in the life of the nation has not come about by chance. It has been an evolutionary process of a healthy democracy at work.

Hitler has not worked that way. He will not -- he cannot work that way. Just as he denies all rights to individuals, he must deny all rights to groups -- groups of labor, (of) or business -- groups of learning, of the church. He has abolished trade unions as ruthlessly as he has persecuted religion.

No group of Americans has realized more clearly what Nazi domination of the world means than has organized labor -- what it means to their standard of living, their freedom -- their lives. No group has a greater stake in the defeat of Nazi-ism, in the preservation of the fundamental freedoms, in the continuance of democracy throughout the world.

We have already achieved much; it is imperative that we achieve infinitely more.

The singlemindedness and sacrifice with which we jointly dedicate ourselves to the production of the weapons of freedom will determine in no small part the length of the ordeal through which humanity must pass.

We cannot hesitate, we cannot equivocate in the great task before us. The defense of America's freedom must take precedence over every private aim and over every private interest.

Yes, we are engaged on a grim and perilous task. Forces of insane violence have been let loose by Hitler upon this earth. We must do our full part in conquering them. For these forces may be unleashed on this nation as we go about our business of protecting the proper interests of our country.

The task of defeating Hitler may be long and arduous. There are a few appeasers and Nazi sympathizers who say it cannot be done. They even

ask me to negotiate with Hitler -- to pray for crumbs from his victorious table. They do, in fact, ask me to become the modern Benedict Arnold and betray all that I hold dear -- my devotion to our freedom -- to our churches -- to our country. This course I have rejected -- I reject it again.

Instead, I know that I speak the conscience and determination of the American people when I say that we shall do everything in our power to crush Hitler and his Nazi forces.

American workers, (and) American farmers, American businessmen, (and) American church(men) people -- all of us together -- have the great responsibility and the great privilege of laboring to build a democratic world on enduring foundations.

May it be said on some future Labor Day by some future President of the United States that we did our work faithfully and well.

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AS SPOKEN FOR THE NEWSREELS

American labor now bears a tremendous responsibility in the winning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars. In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building weapons on a scale great in its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of the world these weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over the seas and through the air. And this nation is now devising and developing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
BROADCAST FROM THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.  
December 8, 1941 -- 12.30 P.M., E.S.T.

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, AND MR. SPEAKER, AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES: (TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:)

Yesterday, December 7, 1941 -- a date which will live in infamy -- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American Island of Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to (the) our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against

Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

And this morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

But always will (we) our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us. (applause)

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to (loud and prolonged cheers and applause) absolute victory.

I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again (endanger us) endanger us (again). (applause)

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces -- with the unbounding determination of our people -- we will gain the inevitable triumph -- so help us God. (applause)

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December seventh, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire. (loud and prolonged cheers and applause).

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

December 8, 1941.

CHRISTMAS GREETING OF THE  
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN, WINSTON CHURCHILL,  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE LIGHTING OF THE  
NATIONAL COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS TREE,  
DELIVERED FROM THE SOUTH PORTICO OF THE WHITE HOUSE,  
December 24, 1941, at 5.10 P.M., E.S.T.

THE PRIME MINISTER:

Fellow workers in the cause of Freedom:

I have the honor to add a pendant to the necklace of that Christmas goodwill and kindness with which my illustrious friend -- the President -- has encircled the homes and families of the United States by his Message of Christmas Eve, which he has just delivered.

I spend this anniversary and festival far from my country, far from my family, and yet I cannot truthfully say that I feel far from home. Whether it be -- (applause) -- whether it be by the ties of blood on my mother's side, or the friendships I have developed here over many years of active life, or the commanding sentiment of comradeship in the common cause of great peoples who speak the same language, who kneel at the same altars, and to a very large extent pursue the same ideals -- whichever it may be, or all of them together -- I cannot feel myself a stranger here in the center and at the summit of the United States. (applause) I feel a sense of unity and fraternal association, which, added to the kindness of your welcome, convinces me that I have a right to sit at your fireside and share your Christmas joys. (applause)

Fellow workers, fellow soldiers in the Cause:

This is a strange Christmas Eve. Almost the whole world is locked in deadly struggle. Armed with the most terrible weapons which science can devise, the nations advance upon each other. Ill would it be for us, this

Christmas-tide, if we were not sure that no greed for the lands or wealth of any other people, no vulgar ambition, no morbid lust for material gain at the expense of others, had led us to the field. And ill would it be for us if that were so.

Here in the midst of war, raging and roaring over all the lands and seas, creeping nearer to our hearths and homes; here amid all these tumults, we have tonight the peace of the spirit in each cottage home and in every generous heart.

Therefore, we might cast aside -- for this night at least -- the cares and dangers which beset us, and make for the children an evening of happiness in a world of storm. Here then -- for one night only -- each home throughout the English-speaking world should be a brightly lighted island of happiness and peace.

Let the children have their night of fun and laughter. Let the gifts of Father Christmas delight their play. Let us grownups share to the full in their unstinted pleasures, before we turn again to the stern tasks and formidable year that lie before us.

Resolve that by our sacrifice and daring these same children shall not be robbed of their inheritance, or denied their right to live in a free and decent world.

And so -- (applause) -- and so in God's Mercy, a Happy Christmas to you all. (applause)

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CHRISTMAS GREETINGS TO THE NATION  
DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT  
ON THE SOUTH PORTICO OF THE WHITE HOUSE  
AND BROADCAST OVER A NATIONAL AND WORLDWIDE HOOKUP  
DECEMBER 24, 1941, 5.05 P.M., E.S.T.  
UPON THE OCCASION OF THE LIGHTING OF THE  
NATIONAL COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS TREE AT THE WHITE HOUSE

(the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill, was standing at the side of the President while he was speaking. The Prime Minister also delivered an address, which is appended.)

And now, for the ninth time, I light the living Christmas Community Tree of the Nation's Capital.

(the President then pressed a button, and the Tree was lighted)

FELLOW WORKERS FOR FREEDOM:

There are many men and women in America -- sincere and faithful men and women -- who are asking themselves this Christmas:

How can we light our trees? How can we give our gifts? How can we meet and worship with love and with uplifted (hearts) spirit and heart in a world at war, a world of fighting and suffering and death?

How can we pause, even for a day, even for Christmas Day, in our urgent labor of arming a decent humanity against the enemies which beset it?

How can we put the world aside, as men and women put the world aside in peaceful years, to rejoice in the birth of Christ?

These are natural -- inevitable -- questions in every part of the world which is resisting the evil thing.

And even as we ask these questions, we know the answer. There is another preparation demanded of this nation beyond and beside the preparation of weapons and materials of war. There is demanded also of us

(also) the preparation of our hearts; the arming of our hearts. And when we make ready our hearts for the labor and the suffering and the ultimate victory which lie ahead, then we observe Christmas Day -- with all of its memories and all of its meanings -- as we should.

Looking into the days to come, I have set aside a Day of Prayer, and in that Proclamation I have said:

"The year 1941 has brought upon our nation a war of aggression by powers dominated by arrogant rulers whose selfish purpose is to destroy free institutions. They would thereby take from the freedom-loving peoples of the earth the hard-won liberties gained over many centuries.

"The new year of 1942 calls for the courage and the resolution of old and young to help to win a world struggle in order that we may preserve all that we hold dear.

"We are confident in our devotion to country, in our love of freedom, in our inheritance of courage. But our strength, as the strength of all men everywhere, is of greater avail as God upholds us.

"Therefore, I .... do hereby appoint the first day of the year 1942 as a day of prayer, of asking forgiveness for our shortcomings of the past, of consecration to the tasks of the present, of asking God's help in days to come.

"We need His guidance that this people may be a humble people, that it may be truthful in spirit but strong in the conviction of the right; steadfast to endure sacrifice, and brave to achieve a victory of liberty and peace."

Our strongest weapon in this war is that conviction of the dignity and brotherhood of man which Christmas Day signifies -- more than any other day or any other symbol.

Against enemies who preach the principles of hate and practise them, we set our faith in human love and in God's care for us and all men everywhere.

It is in that spirit, and with particular thoughtfulness of those, our sons and brothers, who serve in our armed forces on land and sea, near and far -- those who serve for us and endure for us -- that we light our Christmas candles now across (this) the continent from one coast to the other on this Christmas (evening) Eve.

We have joined with many other nations and peoples in a very great cause. Millions of them have been engaged in the task of defending good with their life-blood for months and for years.

One of their great leaders stands beside me. He and his people in many parts of the world are having their Christmas trees with their little children around them, just as we do here. He and his people have pointed the way in courage and in sacrifice for the sake of little children everywhere.

And so I am asking my associate, (and) my old and good friend, to say a word to the people of America, old and young, tonight -- Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain. (applause)

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ANNUAL MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT  
ON THE STATE OF THE UNION  
DELIVERED TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE 77TH CONGRESS  
JANUARY 6, 1942, 12.30 P.M., E.S.T.  
AND BROADCAST OVER A NATIONAL AND WORLD-WIDE HOOKUP

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES:

In fulfilling my duty to report upon the state of the Union, I am proud to say to you that the spirit of the American people was never higher than it is today -- (applause) the Union was never more closely knit together -- and this country was never more deeply determined to face the solemn tasks before it.

The response of the American people has been instantaneous, and it will be sustained until our security is assured.

Exactly one year ago today I said to this Congress: "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part ..... They -- not we -- will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack."

We now know their choice of the time: a peaceful Sunday morning -- December 7th, 1941.

We know their choice of the place: an (American) outpost -- an American outpost in the Pacific.

We know their choice of the method: the method of Hitler himself.

Japan's scheme of conquest goes back half a century. It was not merely a policy of seeking living room; It was a plan which included the subjugation of all the peoples in the Far East and in the Islands of the Pacific, and the domination of that ocean by Japanese military and naval control of the western coasts of North, Central and South America.

The development of this ambitious conspiracy was marked by the war against China in 1894; the subsequent occupation of Korea; the war against Russia in 1904; the illegal fortification of the mandated Pacific Islands following 1920; the seizure of Manchuria in 1931; and the invasion of China in 1937.

A similar policy of criminal conquest was adopted by Italy. The Fascists first revealed their imperial designs in Libya and Tripoli. In 1935 they seized Abyssinia. Their goal was the domination of all North Africa, Egypt, parts of France, and the entire Mediterranean world.

But the dream(s) of empire of the Japanese and Fascist leaders (were) was modest in comparison with the gargantuan aspirations of Hitler and his Nazis. Even before they came to power in 1933, their plans for that conquest had been drawn. (Those plans) They provided for ultimate domination, not of any one section of the world, but of the whole earth and all the oceans on it.

(With) When Hitler('s) (formation of the) organized his Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance, all these plans of conquest became a single plan. Under this, in addition to her own schemes of conquest, Japan's role was obviously to cut off our supply of weapons of war to Britain, and Russia and China -- weapons which increasingly were speeding the day of Hitler's doom. The act of Japan at Pearl Harbor was intended to stun us -- to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our industrial and military strength to the Pacific area, or even to our own continental defense.

The plan has failed in its purpose. (applause) We have not been stunned. We have not been terrified or confused. This very reassembling of the Seventy-Seventh Congress today is proof of that; for the mood of quiet, grim resolution which here prevails, bodes ill for those who conspired and

collaborated to murder world peace.

And that mood is stronger than any mere desire for revenge. It expresses the will of the American people to make very certain that the world will never so suffer again. (applause)

Admittedly, we have been faced with hard choices. It was bitter, for example, not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter for us not to be able to land a million men (and) in a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But this adds only to our determination to see to it that the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam. (prolonged cheers and applause) Yes, see to it (and) that the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of Japanese imperialism; and will live in freedom, and security and independence. (applause)

Powerful and offensive actions must and will be taken in proper time. The consolidation of the United Nations' total war effort against our common enemies is being achieved.

That was and is the purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, (in) and Moscow and (in) Chungking. That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed in Washington on January 1, 1942, by twenty-six nations (united) against the Axis powers. (applause)

Difficult choices may have to be made in the months to come. We (will) do not shrink from such decisions. We and those united with us will make those decisions with courage and determination.

Plans have been laid here and in the other capitals for coordinated and cooperative action by all the United Nations -- military action and economic action. Already we have established, as you know, unified command

of land, sea, and air forces in the southwestern Pacific theatre of war. There will be a continuation of conferences and consultations among military staffs, so that the plans and operations of each will fit into the general strategy designed to crush the enemy. We shall not fight isolated wars -- each nation going its own way. These twenty-six nations are united -- not in spirit and determination alone, but in the broad conduct of the war in all its phases.

For the first time since the Japanese and the Fascists and the Nazis started along their blood-stained course of conquest they now face the fact that superior forces are assembling against them. Gone forever are the days when the aggressors could attack and destroy (their victims one by one) them without unity of resistance. We of the United Nations will so dispose our forces that we can strike at the common enemy wherever the greatest damage can be done him. (applause)

The militarists (in) of Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it. (cheers and applause)

Destruction -- destruction of the material and spiritual centers of civilization -- this has been and still is the purpose of Hitler and his Italian and Japanese chessmen. (laughter) They would wreck the power of the British Commonwealth and of Russia and of China and of the Netherlands -- and then combine all their forces to achieve their ultimate goal, the conquest of the United States.

They know that victory for us means victory for freedom.

They know that victory for us means victory for the institution of democracy -- the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity.

They know that victory for us means victory for religion.

And they could not tolerate that. The world is too small to provide adequate "living room" for both Hitler and God. (applause) In proof of that, the Nazis have now announced their plan for enforcing their new German, pagan religion (throughout) all over the world -- (the) a plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by "Mein Kampf" and the Swastika and the naked sword.

Our own objectives are clear; the objective of ~~smashing~~ the militarism imposed by war lords upon their enslaved peoples -- the objective of liberating the subjugated nations -- the objective of establishing and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear everywhere in the world.

We shall not stop short of these objectives -- nor shall we be satisfied merely to gain them and then call it a day. I know that I speak for the American people -- and I have good reason to believe that I speak also for all the other peoples who fight with us -- when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war, but also to maintain the security of the peace (which) that will follow. (applause)

But we know that modern methods of warfare make it a task, not only of shooting and fighting, but an even more urgent one of working and producing.

Victory requires the actual weapons of war and the means of transporting them to a dozen points of combat.

It will not be sufficient for us and the other United Nations to produce a slightly superior supply of munitions to that of Germany, and Japan, and Italy and the stolen industries in the countries which they have overrun.

The superiority of the United Nations in munitions and ships must be overwhelming -- so overwhelming that the Axis nations can never hope to catch up with it. (applause) And so, in order to attain this overwhelming superiority the United States must build planes and tanks and guns and ships to the utmost limit of our national capacity. We have the ability and capacity to produce arms not only for our own forces, but also for the armies, navies and air forces fighting on our side.

And our overwhelming superiority of armament must be adequate to put weapons of war at the proper time into the hands of those men in the conquered nations, who stand ready to seize the first opportunity to revolt against their German and Japanese oppressors, and against -- (some applause) -- the traitors in their own ranks, known by the already infamous name of "Quislings". (applause) And I think that it is a fair prophesy to say that as we get guns to the patriots in those lands, they too will fire shots heard 'round the world. (applause)

This production of ours in the United States must be raised far above (its) present levels, even though it will mean the dislocation of the lives and occupations of millions of our own people. We must raise our sights all along the production line. Let no man say it cannot be done. It must be done -- and we have undertaken to do it. (applause)

I have just sent a letter of directive to the appropriate departments and agencies of our Government, ordering that immediate steps be taken:

(1)

First, to increase our production rate of airplanes so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 60,000 planes, -- (applause) -- 10,000, by the way, more than the goal that we set a year and a half ago. This includes 45,000 combat planes -- bombers, dive-bombers, pursuit planes. The rate of increase will be (continued) maintained

and continued so that next year, 1943, we shall produce 125,000 airplanes, including 100,000 combat planes. (applause)

(2.) Second, to increase our production rate of tanks so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 45,000 tanks; -- (some whistles) -- and to continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall produce 75,000 tanks. (applause)

(3.) Third, to increase our production rate of anti-aircraft guns so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 20,000 of them; and to continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall produce 35,000 anti-aircraft guns.

(4.) And fourth, to increase our production rate of merchant ships so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall build 8,000,000 deadweight tons as compared with a 1941 completed production of 1,100,000. (applause) And finally, we shall continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall build 10,000,000 tons of shipping.

These figures and similar figures for a multitude of other implements of war will give the Japanese and the Nazis a little idea of just what they accomplished in the attack (on) at Pearl Harbor. (loud and prolonged cheers and applause)

And I rather hope that all these figures which I have given will become common knowledge in Germany and Japan. (laughter)

Our task is hard -- our task is unprecedented -- and the time is short. We must strain every existing armament-producing facility to the utmost. We must convert every available plant and tool to war production. That goes all the way from the greatest plants to the smallest -- from the huge automobile industry to the village machine shop.

Production for war is based on men and women -- the human hands

and brains which collectively we call Labor. Our workers stand ready to work long hours; to turn out more in a day's work; to keep the wheels turning and the fires burning twenty-four hours a day, and seven days a week. (applause) They realize well that on the speed and efficiency of their work depend the lives of their sons and their brothers on the fighting fronts.

Production for war is based on metals and raw materials -- steel, copper, rubber, aluminum, zinc, tin. Greater and greater quantities of them will have to be diverted to war purposes. Civilian use of them will have to be cut further and still further -- and, in many cases, completely eliminated.

War costs money. So far, we have hardly even begun to pay for it. We have devoted only 15% of our national income to national defense. As will appear in my Budget Message tomorrow, our war program for the coming fiscal year will cost fifty-six billion dollars or, in other words, more than (one-) half of the estimated annual national income. (This) That means taxes and bonds and bonds and taxes. It means cutting luxuries and other non-essentials. In a word, it means an "all-out" war by individual effort and family effort in a united country.

Only this all-out scale of production will hasten the ultimate all-out victory. Speed will count. Lost ground can always be regained -- lost time never. Speed will save lives; speed will save this nation which is in peril; speed will save our freedom and our civilization -- and slowness, well it has never been an American characteristic.

As the United States goes into its full stride, we must always be on guard, on guard against misconceptions which will arise, some of them naturally, or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the

enemy. He is powerful and cunning -- and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing (which) that gives him a chance to kill and to destroy. He has trained his people to believe that their highest perfection is achieved by waging war. For many years he has prepared for this very conflict -- planning, and plotting, and training, arming, and fighting. We have already tasted defeat. We may suffer further setbacks. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody war, a costly war.

We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine -- used time and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people. (applause)

We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among all the other United Nations. We must be particularly vigilant against racial discrimination in any of its ugly forms. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one government and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this (with us) even now. But he will find a unity, a unity of will and purpose against him, which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and (safety of the) people of the world are ended.

We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and him again wherever and whenever we can reach him. (applause)

We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds. (applause)

American armed forces must be used at any place in all the world where it seems advisable to engage the forces of the enemy. In some cases these operations will be defensive, in order to protect key positions. In other cases, these operations will be offensive, in order to strike at the common enemy, with a view to his complete encirclement and eventual total defeat.

American armed forces will operate at many points in the Far East.

American armed forces will be on all the oceans -- helping to guard the essential communications which are vital to the United Nations.

American land and air and sea forces will take stations in the British Isles -- which constitute an essential fortress in this great world struggle. (applause)

American armed forces will help to protect this Hemisphere -- and also help to protect bases outside this Hemisphere, which could be used for an attack on the Americas.

If any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrorizing our people and disrupting our morale. Our people are not afraid of that. We know that we may have to pay a heavy price for freedom. We will pay this price with a will. Whatever the price, it is a thousand times worth it. No matter what our enemies, in their desperation may attempt to do to us -- we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it." (applause) And what's more -- what's more we can give it back -- and we will give it back -- with compound interest. (prolonged applause)

When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us has

accepted the challenge -- for himself and for (the) his nation.

There were only some four hundred United States Marines who in the heroic and historic defense of Wake Island inflicted such great losses on the enemy. Some of those men were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, they will learn that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens have been inspired to render their own full share of service and sacrifice. (applause)

We can well say that our men on the fighting fronts have already proved that Americans today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July. (applause)

Many people ask, "When will this war end"? There is only one answer to that. It will end just as soon as we make it end, by our combined efforts, our combined strength, our combined determination to fight through and work through until the end -- the end of militarism in Germany and Italy and Japan. (applause) Most certainly we shall not settle for less.

That is the spirit in which discussions have been conducted during the visit of the British Prime Minister to Washington. Mr. Churchill and I understand each other, our motives and our purposes. (applause) Together, during the past two weeks, we have faced squarely the major military and economic problems of this greatest world war.

All in our nation have been cheered by Mr. Churchill's visit. We have been deeply stirred by his great message to us. (We) He is welcome in our midst, and we unite in wishing him a safe return to his home. (applause) (He is welcome in our midst, now and in days to come.)

For we are fighting on the same side with the British people, who

fought alone for long, terrible months, and withstood the enemy with fortitude and tenacity and skill.

We are fighting on the same side with the Russian people who have seen the Nazi hordes swarm up to the very gates of Moscow, and who with almost superhuman will and courage have forced the invaders back into retreat.  
(applause)

We are fighting on the same side as the brave people of China -- (applause) -- those millions who for four and a half long years have withstood bombs and starvation and have whipped the invaders time and again in spite of the superior Japanese equipment and arms.

Yes, we are fighting on the same side as the indomitable Dutch.  
(applause)

We are fighting on the same side as all the other governments in exile, whom Hitler and all his armies and all his Gestapo have not been able to conquer.

But we of the United Nations are not making all this sacrifice of human effort and human lives to return to the kind of world we had after the last world war.

We are fighting today for security, for progress and for peace, not only for ourselves, but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills.

Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith (which) that goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the Book of Genesis: "God created man in His own image."

We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage.

We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this deep belief and to create a world in their own image -- a world of tyranny and cruelty and serfdom.

That is the conflict that day and night now pervades our lives. No compromise can end that conflict. There never has been -- there never can be -- successful compromise between good and evil. Only -- only total victory can reward the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith. (prolonged applause)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

JANUARY 6, 1942

MESSAGE  
OF THE  
PRESIDENT  
TO THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS  
ON THE  
STATE OF THE UNION  
JANUARY 7, 1943, at 12.30 PM., EWT.  
RADIO BROADCAST

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE (SENATE AND OF THE  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES) SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS:

(The) This Seventy-Eighth Congress assembles in one of the  
great moments in the history of (this) the Nation. The past year was  
perhaps the most crucial for modern civilization; the coming year will  
be filled with violent conflicts -- yet with high promise of better  
things. (applause)

We must appraise the events of 1942 according to their rela-  
tive importance; we must exercise a sense of proportion.

First in importance in the American scene has been the in-  
spiring proof of the great qualities of our fighting men. (applause)  
They have demonstrated these qualities in adversity as well as in  
victory. As long as our flag flies over this Capitol, Americans will  
honor the soldiers, sailors and marines who fought our first battles  
of this war against overwhelming odds -- the heroes, living and dead,  
of Wake and Bataan and Guadalcanal, of the Java Sea and Midway and the  
North Atlantic convoys. Their unconquerable spirit will live forever.  
(applause)

By far the largest and most important developments in the  
whole world-wide strategic picture of 1942 were the events of the long  
fronts in Russia: first, the implacable defense of Stalingrad; and,  
second, the offensives -- the offensives by the Russian armies at various

points (which) that started in the latter part of November and which still roll on with great force and effectiveness. (applause)

The other major events of the year were: the series of Japanese advances in the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya and Burma; the stopping of (the) that Japanese advance in the mid-Pacific, the South Pacific and the Indian Oceans; the successful defense of the Near East by the British counterattack through Egypt and Libya; the American-British occupation of North Africa. Of continuing importance in the year 1942 were the unending, and bitterly-contested battles of the convoy routes, and the gradual passing of air superiority from the Axis to the United Nations. (applause)

The Axis Powers knew that they must win the war in 1942 -- or eventually lose everything. I do not need to tell you that our enemies did not win (this) the war in 1942. (applause)

In the Pacific area, our most important victory in 1942 was the air and naval battle off Midway Island. That action is historically important because it secured for us for our use communication lines stretching thousands of miles in every direction. In placing this emphasis on the battle of Midway, I am not unmindful of other successful actions in the Pacific, in the air and on land and afloat -- especially those on the Coral Sea and New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands. But these actions were essentially defensive. They were part of the delaying strategy that characterized this phase of the war.

During this period we inflicted steady losses upon the enemy -- great losses of Japanese planes, and naval vessels, transports and cargo ships. As early as one year ago, we set as a primary task in the war of

the Pacific a day-by-day and week-by-week and month-by-month destruction of more Japanese war materials than Japanese industry could replace. (applause) Most certainly, that task has been and is being performed by our fighting ships and planes. And a large part of this task has been accomplished by the gallant crews of our American submarines who strike on the other side of the Pacific at Japanese ships -- right up at the very mouth of the harbor of Yokohama.

We know that as each day goes by, Japanese strength in ships and planes is going down and down, and American strength in ships and planes is going up and up. (applause) And so I sometimes feel that the eventual outcome can now be put on a mathematical basis. That will become evident to the Japanese people themselves when we strike at their own home islands, and bomb them constantly from the air. (applause)

And in the attacks against Japan, we shall be joined with the heroic people of China, -- (prolonged applause, whistles and cheers) -- that great people whose ideals of peace are so closely akin to our own. Even today we are flying as much lend-lease material into China as ever traversed the Burma Road, flying it over mountains -- (applause) -- flying it over mountains seventeen thousand feet high, flying blind through sleet and snow. We shall overcome all the formidable obstacles, and get the battle equipment into China to shatter the power of our common enemy. (applause) From this war, China will realize the security, the prosperity and the dignity, which Japan has sought so ruthlessly to destroy.

The period of our defensive attrition in the Pacific is drawing to a close (passing). Now our aim is to force the Japanese to fight. Last year, we stopped them. This year, we intend to advance. (applause)

(In) turning now to the European theatre, (of war) during this past year it was clear that our first task was to lessen the concentrated pressure on the Russian front by compelling Germany to divert part of her manpower and equipment to another theatre of war.

After months of secret planning and preparation in the utmost detail, an enormous amphibious expedition was embarked for French North Africa from the United States and the United Kingdom in literally hundreds of ships. It reached its objectives with very small losses, and has already produced an important effect upon the whole situation of the war. It has opened to attack what Mr. Churchill well described as "the under-belly of the Axis," and it has removed the always dangerous threat of an Axis attack through West Africa against the South Atlantic Ocean and the Continent of South America itself.

The well-timed and splendidly executed offensive from Egypt by the British Eighth Army was a part of the same major strategy of the United Nations.

Great rains and appalling mud and very limited communications have delayed the final battles of Tunisia. The Axis is reinforcing its strong positions. But I am confident that though the fighting will be tough, when the final Allied assault is made, the last vestige of Axis power will be driven from the whole of the south shores of the Mediterranean. (applause)

Any review of the year 1942 must emphasize the magnitude and the diversity of the military activities in which this nation has become engaged. As I speak to you, approximately one and a half million of our soldiers, sailors, marines and fliers are in service outside of our

continental limits, all through the world. Our merchant seamen, in addition, are carrying supplies to them and to our allies over every sea lane.

Few Americans realize the amazing growth of our air strength, though I am sure our enemy does. Day in and day out our forces are bombing the enemy and meeting him in combat on many different fronts in every part of (over) the world. And for those who question the quality of our aircraft and the ability of our fliers, I point to the fact that, in Africa, we are shooting down two enemy planes to every one we lose, and in the Pacific and (in) the Southwest Pacific we are shooting them down four to one. (applause)

We pay tribute -- great tribute -- the tribute of the United States of America to the fighting men of Russia and China and Britain and the various members of the British Commonwealth -- the millions of men who through the years of this war have fought our common enemies, and have denied to them the world conquest which they sought.

We pay tribute to the soldiers and fliers and seamen of others of the United Nations whose countries have been overrun by Axis hordes.

As a result of the Allied occupation of North Africa, powerful units of the French Army and Navy are going into action. They are in action with the United Nations forces. We welcome them as allies and as friends. They join with those Frenchmen who, since the dark days of June, 1940, have been fighting valiantly for the liberation of their stricken country. (applause)

We pay tribute to the fighting leaders of our Allies, to Winston Churchill, -- (applause) -- to Joseph Stalin -- (applause) -- and to the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. (prolonged applause and cheers)

Yes, there is a very (real) great unanimity between the leaders of the United Nations. This unity is effective in planning and carrying out the major strategy of this war and in building up and in maintaining the lines of supplies.

I cannot prophesy. I cannot tell you when or where the United Nations are going to strike next in Europe. But we are going to strike -- and strike hard. (applause) I cannot tell you whether we are going to hit them in Norway, or through the Low Countries, or in France, or through Sardinia or Sicily, or through the Balkans, or through Poland -- or at several points simultaneously. (laughter and applause) But I can tell you that no matter where and when we strike by land, we and the British and the Russians will hit them from the air heavily and relentlessly. (applause) Day in and day out we shall heap tons upon tons of high explosives on their war factories and utilities and seaports.

Hitler and Mussolini, they will understand now the enormity of their miscalculations -- that the Nazis would always have the advantage of superior air-power as they did when they bombed Warsaw, and Rotterdam, and London and Coventry. That superiority has gone -- forever.

Yes -- (applause) -- we believe that the Nazis and the Fascists have asked for it -- and they are going to get it. (applause)

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Our forward progress in this war has depended upon our progress on the production front.

There has been criticism of the management and conduct of our war production. Much of this self-criticism has had a healthy effect. It has spurred us on. It has reflected a normal American impatience to

get on with the job. We are the kind of people who are never quite satisfied with anything short of miracles.

But there has been some criticism based on guesswork and even on malicious falsification of fact. Such criticism creates doubts and creates fears, and weakens our total effort.

I do not wish to suggest that we should be completely satisfied with our production progress -- today, or next month, or ever. But I can report to you with genuine pride on what has been accomplished (during) in 1942.

A year ago we set certain production goals for 1942 and for 1943. Some people, including some experts, thought that we had pulled some big figures out of a hat just to frighten the Axis. But we had confidence in the ability of our people to establish new records. And that confidence has been justified.

Of course, we realized that some production objectives would have to be changed -- some of them adjusted upward, and others downward; some items would be taken out of the program (completely) altogether, and others added. This was inevitable as we gained battle experience, and as technological improvements were made.

Our 1942 airplane production and tank production fell short, numerically -- stress the word numerically -- of the goals set a year ago. Nevertheless, we have plenty of reason to be proud of our record for 1942. We produced (about) 48,000 military planes -- more than the airplane -- (applause) -- more than the airplane production of Germany, Italy and Japan put together. Last month, in December, we produced 5,500 military planes and the rate is rapidly rising. Furthermore, we must remember that

as each month passes by, the averages of our types weigh more, take more man-hours to make, and have more striking power.

In tank production, we revised our schedule -- and for good and sufficient reasons. As a result of hard experience in battle, we have diverted a portion of our tank producing capacity to a stepped-up production of new, deadly field weapons, especially self-propelled artillery.

Here are some other production figures:

In 1942 we produced 56,000 combat vehicles, such as tanks and self-propelled artillery.

In 1942, we produced 670,000 machine guns, six times greater than our production in 1941 and three times greater than our total production during the year and a half of our participation in the first World War.

We produced 21,000 anti-tank guns, six times greater than our 1941 production.

We produced ten and a quarter billion rounds of small arms ammunition, five times greater than our 1941 production and three times greater than our total production in the first World War.

We produced 181 million rounds of artillery ammunition, twelve times greater than our 1941 production and ten times greater than our total production in the first World War.

I think the arsenal of democracy is making good. (applause)

These facts and figures that I have given will give no great aid and comfort to the enemy. On the contrary, I can imagine that they will give him considerable discomfort. I suspect that Hitler and Tojo will find it difficult to explain to the German and Japanese people just

why it is that "decadent, inefficient democracy" can produce such phenomenal quantities of weapons and munitions -- and fighting men. (applause)

We have given the lie to certain misconceptions -- which is an extremely polite word -- especially the one which holds that the various blocs or groups within a free country cannot forego their political and economic differences in time of crisis and work together toward a common goal.

While we have been achieving this miracle of production, during the past year our Armed Forces have grown from a little over 2,000,000 to 7,000,000. In other words, we have withdrawn from the labor force and the farms some 5,000,000 of our younger workers. And in spite of this, our farmers have contributed their share to the common effort by producing the greatest quantity of food ever made available during a single year in all our history. (applause)

I wonder is there any person among us so simple as to believe that all this could have been done without creating some dislocations in our normal national life, some inconveniences, and even some hardships?

Who (could) can have hoped to have done this without burdensome Government regulations which are a nuisance to everyone -- including those who have the thankless task of administering them?

We all know that there have been mistakes -- mistakes due to the inevitable process of trial and error inherent in doing big things for the first time. We all know that there have been too many complicated forms and questionnaires. I know about that. I have had to fill some of them out myself. (laughter)

But we are determined to see to it that our supplies of food and

other essential civilian goods are distributed on a fair and just basis -- to rich and poor, management and labor, farmer and city dweller alike. (And) we are determined to keep the cost of living at a stable level. All this has required much information. (The) these forms and questionnaires represent an honest and sincere attempt by honest and sincere officials to obtain this information.

We have learned by the mistakes that (have been) we have made.

Our experience will enable us during the coming year to improve the necessary mechanisms of wartime economic controls, and to simplify administrative procedures. But we do not intend to leave things so lax that loopholes will be left for cheaters, for chiselers, or for the manipulators of the Black Market.

Of course, there have been (inconveniences) disturbances and (disturbances) inconveniences -- and even hardships. And there will be many, many more before we finally win. Yes, 1943 will not be an easy year for us on the home front. We shall feel in many ways in our daily lives the sharp pinch of total war.

Fortunately, there are only a few Americans who place appetite above patriotism. (applause) The overwhelming majority realize that the food we send abroad is for essential military purposes, for our own and Allied fighting forces, and for necessary help in areas that we occupy.

We Americans intend to do this great job together. In our common labors we must build and fortify the very foundation of national unity -- confidence in one another.

It is often amusing, and it is sometimes politically profitable, to picture the City of Washington as a mad-house, with the Congress and

the Administration disrupted with confusion and indecision and general incompetence.

However -- what matters most in war is results. And the one pertinent fact is that after only a few years of preparation and only one year of warfare, we are able to engage, spiritually as well as physically, in the total waging of a total war. (applause)

Washington may be a mad-house -- but only in the sense that it is the Capital City of a nation which is fighting mad. (applause) And I think that Berlin and Rome and Tokyo, which had such contempt for the obsolete methods of democracy, would now gladly use all they could get of that same brand of madness. (applause)

And we must not forget that our achievements in production have been relatively no greater than those of the Russians and the British and the Chinese who have developed their own war industries under the incredible difficulties of battle conditions. They have had to continue work through bombings and black-outs. And they have never quit.

We Americans -- (applause) -- we Americans are in good, brave company in this war, and we are playing our own, honorable part in the vast common effort.

As spokesman for the United States Government, you and I take off our hats to those responsible for our American production -- to the owners, managers, (and) supervisors, to the draftsmen and the engineers, and to the workers -- men and women -- in factories and arsenals and shipyards and mines and mills and forests -- in (and) railroads and on highways.

We take off our hats to the farmers who have faced an unprecedented task of feeding not only a great nation but a great part of the world.

We take off our hats to all the loyal, anonymous, untiring men and women who have worked in private employment and in Government and who have endured rationing and other stringencies with good humor and good-will. (applause)

Yes, we take off our hats to all Americans who have contributed so magnificently to our common cause. (applause)

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I have sought to emphasize a sense of proportion in this review of the events of the war and the needs of the war.

We should never forget the things we are fighting for. But, at this critical period of the war, we should confine ourselves to the larger objectives and not get bogged down in argument over methods and details.

We, and all the United Nations, want a decent peace and a durable peace. (applause) In the years between the end of the first World War and the beginning of the second World War, we were not living under a decent or a durable peace.

I have reason to know that our boys at the front are concerned with two broad aims beyond the winning of the war; and their thinking and their opinion coincide with what most Americans here back home are mulling over. They know, and we know, that it would be inconceivable -- it would, indeed, be sacrilegious -- if this Nation and the world did not attain some real, lasting good out of all these efforts and sufferings and bloodshed and death.

The men in our armed forces want a lasting peace, and, equally, they want permanent employment for themselves, their families and their neighbors when they are mustered out at the end of the war. (applause)

Two years ago I spoke in my Annual Message of Four Freedoms. The blessings of two of them -- Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Religion -- are an essential part of the very life of this Nation; and we hope that these blessings will be granted to all men everywhere.

The people at home, and the people at the front (men and women) are wondering a little about the Third Freedom -- Freedom from Want. To them it means that when they are mustered out, when war production is converted to the economy of peace, that they will have the right to expect full employment -- full employment for themselves and for all able-bodied men and women in America who want to work.

They expect the opportunity to work, to run their farms, their stores, to earn decent wages. They are eager to face the risks inherent in our system of free enterprise.

They do not want a post-war America which suffers from undernourishment or slums -- or the dole. They want no get-rich-quick era of bogus "prosperity" which will end for them in selling apples on a street corner, as happened after the bursting of the boom in 1929.

When you talk with our young men and our young women, you will find they want to work for themselves and for their families; they consider that they have the right to work; and they know that after the last war their fathers did not gain that right.

When you talk with our young men and women, you will find that with the opportunity for employment they want assurance against the evils

of all major economic hazards -- assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave. And this great Government can and must provide this assurance.  
(applause)

I have been told that this is no time to speak of a better America after the war. I am told it is a grave error on my part.

I dissent. (applause)

And if the security of the individual citizen, or the family, should become a subject of national debate, the country knows where I stand.  
(applause)

I say this now to this Seventy-Eighth Congress, because it is wholly possible that Freedom from Want -- the right of employment (and), the right of assurance against life's hazards -- will loom very large as a task of America during the coming two years.

I trust it will not be regarded as an issue -- but rather as a task for all of us to study sympathetically, to work out with a constant regard for the attainment of the objective, with fairness to all and with injustice to none.

In this war of survival we must keep before our minds not only the evil things we fight against but the good things we are fighting for. We fight to retain a great past -- and we fight to gain a greater future.  
(applause)

Let us remember, too, that economic safety for the America of the future is threatened unless a greater economic stability comes to the rest of the world. We cannot make America an island in either a military or an economic sense. Hitlerism, like any other form of crime or disease, can grow from the evil seeds of economic as well as military feudalism.

Victory in this war is the first and greatest goal before us. Victory in the peace is the next. That means striving toward the enlargement of the security of man here and throughout the world -- and, finally, striving for the Fourth Freedom -- Freedom from Fear.

It is of little account for any of us to talk of essential human needs, of attaining security, if we run the risk of another World War in ten or twenty or fifty years. That is just plain common sense. Wars grow in size, in death and destruction, and in the inevitability of engulfing all nations, in inverse ratio to the shrinking size of the world as a result of the conquest of the air. I shudder to think of what will happen to humanity, including ourselves, if this war ends in an inconclusive peace, and another war breaks out when the babies of today have grown to fighting age.

Every normal American prays that neither he nor his sons nor his grandsons will be compelled to go through this horror again.

Undoubtedly a few Americans, even now, think that this Nation can end this war comfortably and then climb back into an American hole and pull the hole in after (them).

But we have learned that we can never dig a hole (so) deep enough to (that it would) be safe against predatory animals. We have also learned that if we do not pull the fangs of the predatory animals of this world, they will multiply and grow in strength -- and they will be at our throats again once more in a short generation.

Most Americans realize more clearly than ever before that modern war equipment in the hands of aggressor nations can bring danger overnight to our own national existence or to that of any other nation -- or island -- or continent.

It is clear to us that if Germany and Italy and Japan -- or any one of them -- remain armed at the end of this war, or are permitted to rearm, they will again, and inevitably, embark upon an ambitious career of world conquest. They must be disarmed and kept disarmed, and they must abandon the philosophy, and the teaching of that philosophy, which has brought so much suffering to the world. (prolonged applause)

After the first World War we tried to achieve a formula -- a formula for permanent peace, based on a magnificent idealism. We failed. But, by our failure, we have learned that we cannot maintain peace at this stage of human development by good intentions alone.

Today the United Nations are the mightiest military coalition in all history. They represent an overwhelming majority of the population of the world. Bound together in solemn agreement that they themselves will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, the United Nations can and must remain united for the maintenance of peace by preventing any attempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation which seeks to violate the Tenth Commandment -- "Thou shalt not covet."

There are cynics, (and) there are skeptics who say it cannot be done. The American people and all the freedom-loving peoples of this earth are now demanding that it must be done. And the will of these people shall prevail. (applause)

The very philosophy of the Axis Powers is based on a profound contempt for the human race. If, in the formation of our future policy, we were guided by the same cynical contempt, then we should be surrendering to the philosophy of our enemies, and our victory would turn to defeat.

The issue of this war is the basic issue between those who believe in mankind and those who do not -- the ancient issue between those who put their faith in the people and those who put their faith in dictators and tyrants. There have always been those who did not believe in the people, who attempted to block their forward movement across history, to force them back to servility and suffering and silence.

The people have now gathered their strength. They are moving forward in their might and power -- and no force, no combination of forces, no trickery, deceit or violence, can stop them now. They see before them the hope of the world -- a decent, secure, peaceful life for (all) men everywhere. (applause)

I do not prophesy when this war will end.

But I do believe that this year of 1943 will give to the United Nations a very substantial advance along the roads that lead to Berlin and Rome and Tokyo. (applause)

I tell you it is within the realm of possibility that this Seventy-Eighth Congress may have the historic privilege of helping greatly to save the world from future fear.

Therefore, let us all (of us) have confidence, let us redouble our efforts.

A tremendous, costly, long-enduring task in peace as well as in war is still ahead of us.

But, as we face that continuing task, we may know that the state of this Nation is good -- the heart of this Nation is sound -- the

spirit of this Nation is strong -- the faith of this Nation is eternal.  
(loud and prolonged applause)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

January 7, 1943.

NOTE:

At the President's Press Conference next day, the President called attention to the following sentences which were left out when the ninth draft of the speech was being typed:

"In 1942, we built 8 million and 90 thousand tons of merchant ships. In this we exceeded the goal set."

ADDRESS  
OF THE  
PRESIDENT  
DELIVERED AT THE  
HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
TO  
THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION  
BROADCAST NATIONALLY  
FEBRUARY 12, 1943 (LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY)  
AT 9.30 P.M., E. W. T.

MR. CORNELL, MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION:

It is nearly two years since I attended the last dinner of (the) our White House Correspondents' Association. (applause) A great deal of water has flowed over the dam since then.

And several people have flown over the water. (laughter)

Two years ago -- many months before Pearl Harbor -- I spoke to you of the thought that was then uppermost in our minds -- of the determination of America to become the arsenal of democracy. Almost all Americans had by that time determined to play their full part in helping to save civilization from the barbarians. Even then, we were in the midst of the historic job of production -- a job which the American people have been performing with zest and skill and, above all, with success ever since. (applause)

Tonight, as I speak to you, we are in the war, and another thought is uppermost in our minds; and that is our determination to fight this war through to the finish -- to the day when United Nations' forces march in triumph through the streets of Berlin, and Rome, and Tokyo. (cheers and

applause)

Last September, as some of our publisher friends here tonight knew at the time, I made a tour of inspection through this country. (laughter) I saw war plants at work. I saw Army and Navy training camps and flying fields. I saw American men and women -- Management and labor alike -- working (to) with the objective of beating production schedules. I saw American soldiers and sailors and fliers doing the job of training for the fighting (which) that lay ahead.

Now I have returned from one of the fronts overseas, where the production from American factories and the training given in American camps are being applied in actual warfare against the enemy. I have seen our troops in the field. I have inspected their superb equipment. I have talked and laughed and eaten with them.

I have seen our men -- the Nation's men -- in Trinidad, in Belem, and Natal in Brazil, in Liberia, (in) and Gambia. We must remember that in these places there is no actual fighting, but there is hard, dangerous, essential work, and there is a tremendous strain (upon) on the endurance and the spirit of our troops. They are standing up magnificently under that strain. And I want them to know that we have not forgotten them. (applause)

I have seen our men -- and some of our American women -- in North Africa. Out there it is war. Those men know that before this war is over, many of them will have given their lives to their nation. But they know also that

they are fighting to destroy the power of the enemies of (their) this country, that they are fighting for a peace (which) that will be a real and lasting peace and a far better world for the future.

Our men in the field are worthy of the great faith, the high hopes that we have placed in them. That applies as well to the men of our Navy, without whom no American expeditionary force could land safely on foreign shores. And it applies equally to the men of our Merchant Marine who carry the essential munitions and supplies, without which neither the United States nor our Allies could continue the battle.

No American can look at these men, soldiers or sailors, without a very great emotion and pride -- great pride -- and a (very) deep sense of our responsibility to them.

Because of the necessary secrecy of my trip, the men of our armed forces in every place I visited were completely surprised. And the expression on their faces certainly (showed it) proved that. (laughter)

I wish that I could pay similar surprise visits to our men in the other fields of operations. And don't let anybody, because I have said that, assume that next month I am flying to Guadalcanal. (laughter) But I wish I could see our men, and our naval bases, and the islands of the Pacific, and Australia, on the mainland and the islands of Alaska, the islands of the Atlantic, the two Guianas, the

Canal Zone, Iceland, Britain, Central Africa, the Middle East, India, Burma, and China. I wish I could tell them face to face that their Government and their people are very proud of the great job that they are doing, in helping to strengthen the vise that is slowly but surely squeezing the breath out of our enemies. (applause)

In every battalion, (and) in every ship's crew, you will find every kind of American citizen representing every occupation, every section, every origin, every religion, and every political viewpoint.

Ask them what they are fighting for, and every one of them will say, "I am fighting for my country." Ask them what they really mean by that, and you will get what on the surface may seem to be a wide variety of answers.

One will say that he is fighting for the right to say what he pleases, and to read and listen to what he likes.

Another will say he is fighting because he never wants to see the (Nazi) swastika flying over the old First Baptist Church on Elm Street. (applause)

Another soldier will say that he is fighting for the right to work, (and) to earn three square meals a day for himself and his folks.

(A fourth soldier) and another one will say that he is fighting in this world war so that his children and his grandchildren will not have to go back to Europe, or Africa, or Asia, or the Solomon Islands, to do this ugly job all over again.

But all these answers really add up to the same thing; every American (fights) is fighting for freedom. And today the personal freedom of every American and his family depends, and in the future will increasingly depend, upon the freedom of his neighbors in other lands.

For today the more you travel, the more you realize that the whole world is one neighborhood. That is why this war (which) that had its beginnings in seemingly remote areas -- China -- Poland -- has spread to every continent, and most of the islands of the sea, involving the lives and the liberties of the entire human race. And unless the peace that follows recognizes that the whole world is one neighborhood and does justice to the whole human race, the germs of another World War will remain as a constant threat to mankind.

Yes, I talked with many people in our armed forces, along the coast and through the islands of the Western Hemisphere, and up the coast of West Africa. Many of our soldiers and sailors were concerned about the state of the home-front. They receive all kinds of exaggerated reports and rumors that there is too much complaining back here at home, and too little recognition of the realities of war; that selfish labor leaders are threatening to call strikes (which) that, would greatly curtail the output of our war industries; that some farm groups are trying to profiteer on prices, and are letting us down on food production; that many people are bitter over the hardships of rationing and priorities; and especially that there (are) is serious partisan (political) quarrel(s) over the petty

things of life here in our capital city of Washington, D. C.

I told them that most of these reports are just gross exaggerations; that the people as a whole in the United States are in this war to see it through with heart and body and soul; and that our population is willing and glad to give up some of their shoes, and their sugar, and coffee, and automobile riding -- and privileges and profits -- for the sake of the common cause. (applause)

I could not truthfully deny to our troops that a few chiselers, a few politicians, and a few -- to use a polite term -- publicists -- (laughter) -- fortunately a very few -- have placed their personal ambition or greed above the Nation's interests.

Our troops know that the Nazis and the Fascists and the Japanese are trying hard to sell the untruths of propaganda to certain types of Americans. But our troops also know that even if you pile up a lot of molehills of deception one on top of the other, you still cannot make a mountain big enough, or high enough, or solid enough to fool many people, or to block the road to victory and to an effective peace. (applause)

I think a fundamental of an effective peace is the assurance to those men who are fighting our battles, that when they come home they will find a country with an economy firm enough and fair enough to provide jobs for all those who are willing to work.

I am certain that private enterprise will be able

to provide the vast majority of those jobs, and in those cases where this cannot be accomplished that the Congress of the United States will pass the legislation (which) that will make good the assurance of (jobs) earning a living.  
(applause)

There are still a few men who say we cannot achieve this and other honorable, reasonable aims for the post-war (world) period. And in speaking of (these) those professional skeptics -- (these) those men of little faith -- there comes to my mind an old word in our language -- the word "pettifoggers."

The formal dictionary definition and derivation of (the word) that term, that is (are) neither here nor there. To most of us (it) pettifoggers bring(s) to mind a man who is small, (and) mean and tricky, and picayune. (and) In a word -- petty. It is the type of man who is always seeking to create a smoke screen, (or) and fog, for the purpose of obscuring the plain truth. And you and I know some petti-foggers.

Today, (the) those pettifoggers are attempting to obscure the essential truths of this war. They are seeking to befog the present and the future, and the clear purpose(s) and the high principle(s) for which the free world now maintains the promise of undimmed victory. (applause)

To use one example, in a small sector of the world's surface -- in North Africa -- we are now massing armies -- British, French, (and) American -- for one of the major battles of this war.

The enemy's purpose in the battle of Tunisia is to hold at all costs their last bridgehead in Africa, to prevent us from gaining access to the Straits that lead to Nazi-dominated Europe.

Our prime purpose in this battle of Tunisia is to drive our enemies into the sea. (applause)

The British First Army in this battle, commanded by General Anderson, contains many victims -- many veterans of Flanders and Dunkirk. (These) those men have a score to settle with the Nazis, and they are going to even that score. (cheers and applause)

The British Eighth Army, commanded by General Montgomery, has to its eternal credit the smashing defeat of Marshal Rommel's Army, and the now historic fifteen hundred mile pursuit of those once triumphant Nazi-Fascist forces.

The enemy in Tunisia will be attacked from the South by this great Eighth Army, and by the French forces who have made a remarkable march all the way across the Sahara Desert under General Le Clerc, one of General de Gaulle's officers. From the West the enemy will be attacked by the combined forces of British and Americans, together with French troops under the command of General Giraud. (applause)

And I think that we take a certain satisfaction tonight that all of these forces are commanded by General Eisenhower. (applause) I spent many hours in Casablanca with this young general -- a descendant of Kansas pioneers. I know what a fine, tough job he has done, and how carefully

and skillfully he is directing the soldiers under him. I want to say to you tonight -- and to him -- that we have every confidence in his leadership. (applause) High tribute was paid to his qualities as a (soldier) man when the British Government, through Mr. Churchill, took the lead at Casablanca in proposing him for the supreme command of all the great Allied operations which are imminent in North Africa. (applause)

The deputy to General Eisenhower is General Alexander, one of Britain's greatest fighting men. (General Alexander) He commanded all the British forces in the Middle East, including the Eighth Army (which) that won the decisive battle at El Alamein. He and General Montgomery planned that engagement and the (tremendous) stupendous advance (which) that followed. (it). At this moment -- as I speak to you tonight -- General Alexander is standing at the right hand of General Eisenhower planning new military operations.

These important facts reveal not merely cooperation but active collaboration between the United Nations. Let these facts be duly noted by our enemies.

Our soldiers in Tunisia are well trained and equipped, but they are facing for the first time actual combat with formidable opponents. We can be absolutely certain that they will conduct themselves as bravely and as effectively as did those young Americans under General Pershing who drove Germany's best troops through the Argonne forest and across the River Meuse. (applause)

(The battle of) I think we should be prepared for the fact that Tunisia will cost us heavily in casualties. Yes, we must face that fact now, with the same calm (courage) as our men are facing it on the battlefield itself.

The enemy has strong forces, (in) and strong positions. His supply lines are maintained at great cost, but Hitler has been willing to pay that cost (for) because he knows the consequences of Allied victory in Tunisia.

(Those) the consequences are simple. They are the actual invasions of the continent of Europe. And we do not disguise our intention to make these invasions. (applause) The pressure on Germany and Italy will be constant and unrelenting. The amazing Russian armies in (the East) Eastern Europe have been delivering overpowering blows; we must do likewise in the West. The enemy must be hit and hit hard from so many directions that he will never know(s) which is his bow and which is his stern. (laughter and applause)

And it was made clear (to us) also at Casablanca that all Frenchmen outside of France, for we know little of what is happening in France, but all Frenchmen who can, are uniting in one great paramount objective -- the complete liberation of France and of (all) the French people who now suffer the torture of the Nazi yoke. As each day passes, a spirit of unselfishness is more greatly uniting all Frenchmen who have the opportunity to strike (a) that blow for liberation.

In the years of the American Revolution, and the French Revolution(s), the fundamental principle that guid(ing)-ed our democracies was established. Indeed the whole cornerstone of our (whole) democratic edifice was the principle that from the people and the people alone flows the authority of government.

It is one of our war aims, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, that the conquered populations of today -- the over-run countries -- (be) shall again become the masters of their destiny. There must be no doubt anywhere that it is the unalterable purpose of the United Nations to restore to conquered peoples their sacred rights.

French sovereignty rests with the people of France. Its expression has been temporarily suspended by German occupation. Once the triumphant armies of the United Nations have expelled the common foe, Frenchmen will be represented by a government of their own popular choice. (applause)

And it will be a free choice in every (sense) way. No nation in all the world that is free to make a choice is going to set itself up under (the) a Fascist form of government, or (the) a Nazi form of government, or (the) a Japanese war-lord form of government. For such forms are the offspring of seizure of power followed by the abridgement of freedom. Therefore,-- and this is plain logic -- the United Nations can properly say of these forms of government -- Nazism, Fascism, Japanism -- if I might coin a new word -- the United Nations can properly say to that

form of government two simple words, "Never again." (applause)

For the right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government anywhere in the world to commit wholesale murder, or the right to make slaves of its own people, or of any other peoples in the world.

And the world can rest assured that this total war, this sacrifice of lives all over the globe, is not being carried on for the purpose, or even with the remotest idea of keeping (the) Quislings or Laval in power anywhere on this earth. (cheers and applause)

The decisions that were reached, (and) the actual plans that were made at Casablanca were not confined to any one theatre of war, or to any one continent, or ocean, or sea. Before this year is out I think it will be made known to the world, in actions rather than in words, that the Casablanca Conference produced plenty of news; and it will be bad news for the Germans and Italians -- and (the) Japanese. (applause)

We have lately concluded a long, hard battle in the Southwest Pacific, and we have made notable gains. That battle started in the Solomons and New Guinea last summer. It has demonstrated without question our superior power in planes, and most importantly in the fighting qualities of our individual soldiers and sailors.

American armed forces in the Southwest Pacific are receiving powerful aid from Australia and New Zealand, and also directly from the British themselves.

We do not expect to spend the time that it would take to bring Japan to final defeat merely by inching our way forward from island to island across the vast expanse of the Pacific. It would take too many years.

Great and decisive actions against the Japanese will be taken to drive the invader from the soil of China. (applause) Yes, important actions (will) are going to be taken in the skies over China -- and over the skies of Japan itself. (applause)

The discussions, (at) to go back to Casablanca, have been continued in Chungking with the Generalissimo by General Arnold, and (have) resulted in definite plans for offensive operations.

Remember that there are many roads (which) that lead right to Tokyo. And we (shall) are not going to neglect (none) any of them. (applause)

In an attempt to ward off the inevitable disaster that lies ahead of them, the Axis propagandists are trying all (of) their old tricks, in order to divide the United Nations. They seek to create the idea that if we win this war, Russia, and England, and China, and the United States are going to get into a cat-and-dog fight.

This is their final effort to turn one nation against another, in the vain hope that they may settle with one or two at a time -- that any of us may be so gullible and so forgetful as to be duped into making "deals" at the expense of our Allies.

To these panicky attempts -- and that is the best word to use: panicky -- to escape the consequences of their crimes, we say -- all the United Nations say -- that the only terms on which we shall deal with any Axis government, or any Axis faction(s), are the terms proclaimed at Casablanca: "Unconditional Surrender." (applause) We know, and the plain people of our enemies will eventually know, that (In our uncompromising policy) we mean no harm to the common people of the Axis nations. But we do mean to impose punishment and retribution in full upon their guilty, barbaric leaders. (applause)

The Nazis must be frantic -- not just panicky, but frantic -- (indeed) if they believe that they can devise any propaganda (which) that would turn the British and the American and the Chinese governments and peoples against Russia -- or Russia against the rest of us.

The overwhelming courage and endurance of the Russian people in withstanding and hurling back the invaders -- (and) the genius with which their great armies have been directed and led by Mr. Stalin and their military commanders -- all speak for themselves.

The tragedy of the war has sharpened the vision (of the) and leadership (and) of the peoples of all the United Nations, and I can say to you from my own full knowledge that they see the utter necessity of our standing together after the war to secure a peace based on principles of permanence.

You can be quite sure that if Japan should be the

first of the Axis partners to fall, the total efforts and resources of all the United Nations would be concentrated on the job of crushing Germany.

And, on the other hand, lest there be any question in Nazi or Japanese minds that we are wholly one in the prosecution of the war to a complete victory (all) over (the world) our enemies, the Prime Minister wished, at Casablanca, to make a formal agreement that if Germany should be conquered before Japan, all British Empire resources and manpower would, of course, join with China and us in an out-and-out final attack on Japan. (applause) And I told (him) Mr. Churchill that no formal statement of agreement along (these) those lines was in the least bit necessary, that the American people accept the word of a great English gentleman -- (applause) -- and that it (was) is obvious and clear that all of us are completely in accord in our determination to destroy the forces of barbarism in Asia, (and) as well as in Europe and in Africa. In other words, our policy toward our Japanese enemies is precisely the same as our policy toward our Nazi enemies: it is a policy of fighting hard on all fronts, and ending the war as quickly as we can, on the uncompromising terms of unconditional surrender. (applause)

Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great, plain American. The living memory of Abraham Lincoln is now honored and cherished by all of our people, wherever they may be, (and) by men and women and children throughout the British Commonwealth, and the Soviet Union, and the

Republic of China, and all of our sister American Republics,  
(and) indeed in every land on earth where people love freedom and will give their lives for freedom.

President Lincoln said in 1862, "Fellow Citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us.... in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation."

Today, eighty years after Lincoln delivered that message, the fires of war are blazing across the whole horizon of mankind -- from Kharkov to Kunming -- from the Mediterranean to the Coral Sea -- from Berlin to Tokyo.

Again -- we cannot escape history. We have supreme confidence that, with the help of God, honor will prevail. We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the Twentieth Century, there came (the) a time when men of goodwill found a way to unite, and produce, and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance, and intolerance, and slavery, and war. (prolonged cheers and applause)

A D D R E S S  
OF THE  
P R E S I D E N T  
IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
DEDICATION  
OF THE  
THOMAS JEFFERSON MEMORIAL  
HELD AT THE MEMORIAL  
AND BROADCAST NATIONALLY  
APRIL 13, 1943 -- 12.07 PM., EWT

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Members of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission,  
Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today, in the midst of a great war for freedom, we dedicate a shrine to freedom.

To Thomas Jefferson, Apostle of Freedom, we are paying a debt long overdue.

Yet, there are reasons for gratitude that this occasion falls within our time; for our generation of Americans can understand much in Jefferson's life which intervening generations could not see as well as we.

He faced the fact that men who will not fight for liberty can lose it. We, too, have faced that fact.

He lived in a world in which freedom of conscience and freedom of mind were battles still to be fought through -- not principles already accepted of (all) men. We, too, have lived in such a world.

He loved peace and loved liberty -- yet on more than one occasion he was forced to choose between them. We, too, have been compelled to make that choice.

Generations which understand each other across the distances of history are the generations united by a common experience and a common cause. Jefferson, across a (one) hundred and fifty years of time, is closer by much to living men than many of our leaders of the years between. His cause was a cause to which we also are committed, not by our words alone but by our sacrifice.

For faith and ideals imply renunciations. Spiritual advancement throughout all our history has called for temporal sacrifices.

The Declaration of Independence and the very purposes of the American Revolution itself, while seeking freedoms, called for the abandonment of privileges.

Jefferson was no dreamer -- for half a century he led his State and his Nation in fact and in deed. I like to think that this was so because he thought in terms of the morrow as well as the day -- and this was why he was hated or feared by those who thought in terms of the day and the yesterday.

We judge him by the application of his philosophy to the circumstances of his life(time). But in such applying we come to understand that his life was given for those deeper values that (which) persist throughout all time.

Leader in the philosophy of government, in education, in the arts, in efforts to lighten the toil of mankind -- exponent of plannings for the future, he led the steps of America into the path of the permanent integrity of the Republic.

Thomas Jefferson believed, as we believe, in Man.

He believed, as we believe, that men are capable of their own government, and that no king, no tyrant, no dictator can govern for them as well (wisely) as they can govern for themselves.

He believed, as we believe, in certain inalienable rights. He, as we, saw those principles and freedoms challenged. He fought for them, as we fight for them.

He proved that the seeming eclipse of liberty can well become the dawn of more liberty. Those who fight the tyranny of our own time will come to learn that old lesson. Among all the peoples of the earth, the cruelties and the oppressions of its would-be masters have taught this generation what its liberties can mean. This lesson, so bitterly learned, will never be forgotten while this generation is still alive (lives).

The words which we have chosen for this Memorial speak Jefferson's noblest and most urgent meaning; and we are proud indeed to understand it and share it:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

(applause)

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A D D R E S S  
of the  
P R E S I D E N T  
at  
OTTAWA, CANADA  
AUGUST 25, 1943

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YOUR EXCELLENCY MR. PRIME MINISTER, MEMBERS OF THE  
PARLIAMENT, AND ALL MY GOOD FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS OF THE DOM-  
INIONS (OF CANADA):

It was exactly five years ago last Wednesday that I  
came to Canada to receive the high honor of a Degree at Queen's  
University. On that occasion -- one year before the invasion  
of Poland, three years before Pearl Harbor -- I said:

"We in the Americas are no longer a far-away continent,  
to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could  
bring no interest or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas  
have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to  
every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our  
resources, the vigor of our commerce, and the strength of our  
men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose  
it or not."

We did not choose this war -- and that "we" includes  
each and every one of the United Nations.

War was violently forced upon us by criminal aggres-  
sors who measure their standards of morality by the extent of  
the death and the destruction that they can inflict upon

their neighbors.

In this war, Canadians and Americans have fought shoulder to shoulder -- as our men and our women and our children have worked together and played together in happier times of peace.

Today, in devout gratitude, we are celebrating a brilliant victory won by British and Canadian and American fighting men in Sicily.

Today, we rejoice also in another event for which we need not apologize. A year ago Japan occupied several of the Aleutian Islands on our side of the ocean, and made a great "to-do" about the invasion of the continent of (North) America. I regret to say that some Americans and some Canadians (-- for political purposes chiefly --) wished our governments to withdraw from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean campaigns and divert all our vast supplies and strength to the removal of the Japs from a few rocky specks in the North Pacific (Aleutians).

Today, our wiser councils have maintained our efforts in the Atlantic (area), and the Mediterranean, and the China Seas, and the Southwest Pacific with ever-growing contributions; and in the Northwest Pacific a relatively small campaign has been assisted by the Japs themselves in the elimination of that (the) last Jap from Attu and Kiska. (applause) We have been told that the Japs never surrender; their headlong retreat satisfies us just as well. (laughter and applause)

Great councils are being held here on the free and honored soil of Canada -- councils which look to the future conduct of this war and to the years of building a new progress for mankind.

To these councils Canadians and Americans alike again welcome that wise and good and gallant gentleman, the Prime Minister of Great Britain. (applause)

Mr. King, my old friend, -- (applause and cheers) -- may I through you thank the people of Canada for their hospitality to all of us. Your course and mine have run so closely and affectionately during these many long years that this meeting adds another link to that chain. I have always felt at home in Canada -- (cheers and applause) -- and you, I think, have always felt at home in the United States.

During the past few days in Quebec, the Combined Staffs have been sitting around a table -- which is a good custom -- talking things over, discussing ways and means, in the manner of friends, in the manner of partners, and (I) may I even say in the manner of members of the same family. (applause)

We have talked constructively of our common purposes in this war -- of our determination to achieve victory in the shortest possible time -- of our essential cooperation with our great and brave fighting Allies.

And we have arrived, harmoniously, at certain definite conclusions. Of course, I am not at liberty to disclose just what these conclusions are. But, in due time,

we shall communicate the secret information of the Quebec Conference to Germany, Italy and Japan. (applause) We will (shall) communicate this information to our enemies in the only language their twisted minds seem capable of understanding. (laughter and applause)

Sometimes I wish that that great master of intuition, the Nazi leader, could have been present in spirit at the Quebec Conference -- I am thoroughly glad that he wasn't there in person. (laughter) If he and his generals had known our plans they would have realized that discretion is still the better part of valor and that surrender would pay them better now than later.

The evil characteristic that makes a Nazi a Nazi is his utter inability to understand and therefore to respect the qualities or the rights of his fellowmen. His only method of dealing with his neighbor is first to delude him with lies, then to attack him treacherously, then beat him down and step on him, and then either kill him or enslave him. And the same thing is true of the fanatical militarists of Japan.

Because their own instincts and impulses are essentially inhuman, our enemies simply cannot comprehend how it is that decent, sensible individual human beings manage to get along together and live together as (good) neighbors.

That is why our enemies are doing their desperate best to misrepresent the purposes and the results of this Quebec Conference. They still seek to divide and conquer Allies who refuse to be divided just as cheerfully as they

refuse to be conquered. (applause)

We spend our energies and our resources and the very lives of our sons and daughters because a band of gangsters in the community of nations declines to recognize the fundamentals of decent, human conduct.

We have been forced to call out what we in the United States would call the sheriff's posse to break up the gang in order that gangsterism may be eliminated in the community of nations.

We are making sure -- absolutely, irrevocably sure -- that this time the lesson is driven home to them once and for all. Yes, we are going to be rid of outlaws this time. (applause)

Every one of the United Nations believes that only a real and lasting peace can justify the sacrifices we are making, and our unanimity gives us confidence in seeking that goal.

It is no secret that at Quebec there was much talk of the post-war world. That discussion was doubtless duplicated simultaneously in dozens of nations and hundreds of cities and among millions of people.

There is a longing in the air. It is not a longing to go back to what they call "the good old days." I have distinct reservations as to how good "the good old days" were. (laughter) I would rather believe that we can achieve new and better days.

Absolute victory in this war will give greater

opportunities for (to) the world, because the winning of the war in itself is proof -- certainly proving to all of us up here that concerted action can accomplish things. Surely we can make strides toward a greater freedom from want than the world has yet enjoyed. Surely by unanimous action in driving out the outlaws and keeping them under heel forever, we can attain a freedom from fear of violence.

I am everlastingly angry only at those who assert vociferously that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter are nonsense because they are unattainable. If those people (they) had lived a century and a half ago they would have sneered and said that the Declaration of Independence was utter piffle. If they had lived nearly a thousand years ago they would have laughed uproariously at the ideals of Magna Carta. And if they had lived several thousand years ago they would have derided Moses when he came from the Mountain with the Ten Commandments.

We concede that these great teachings are not perfectly lived up to today, (and we concede that the good old world cannot arrive at Utopia overnight) but I would rather be a builder than a wrecker, hoping always that the structure of life is growing -- not dying.

May the destroyers who still persist in our midst decrease. They, like some of our enemies, have a long road to travel before they accept the ethics of humanity.

Some day, in the distant future perhaps -- but some day it is certain (with certainty) -- all of them will

remember with the Master -- "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Monsieur le Premier: Ma visite à la ville historique de Québec rappelle vivement à mon esprit que le Canada est une nation fondée sur l'union de deux grandes races. L'harmonie de leur association dans l'égalité peut servir d'exemple à l'humanité toute entière -- un exemple partout dans le monde. (applause)

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English translation of the previous paragraph: My visit to the old city of Quebec has recalled vividly to my mind that Canada is a nation founded on a union of two great races. The harmony of their equal partnership is an example to all mankind -- an example everywhere in the world.

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A D D R E S S  
OF THE  
P R E S I D E N T  
IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT SETTING UP THE  
UNITED NATIONS' RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION  
IN THE EAST ROOM  
NOVEMBER 9, 1943  
BROADCAST NATIONALLY AT 12.30 PM., EWT

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Gentlemen, on behalf of the host nations, I welcome you to this historic conference.

Here in the White House seated about a table in the historic East Room are representatives of forty-four nations -- United Nations and those associated with them.

The people of these forty-four nations include approximately eighty percent of the human race, now united by a common devotion to the cause of civilization and by a common determination to build for the future a world of decency and security, and above all peace.

Representatives of these forty-four nation -- you gentlemen who represent them -- have just signed an agreement creating the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration -- commonly known as UNRRA, being a simpler word.

This agency will help to put into practical effect some of the high purposes that were set forth in the declaration of the United Nations on January first (1), 1942.

Coming after the Declarations of Moscow recently, this agreement shows that we mean business in this war in a political and humanitarian sense, just as surely as we mean

business in a military sense. It is one more strong link joining the United Nations and their associates in facing problems of mutual need and mutual interest.

The agreement which we have all just signed is based on a preamble in which the United Nations declare that they are: "determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area.....the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services." That is the preamble of the agreement which has just been signed here today.

All of the United Nations agree to cooperate and share in the work of UNRRA -- each nation according to its own individual resources -- and to provide relief and help in rehabilitation for the victims of German and Japanese barbarism.

I think it is hard for us to grasp the magnitude of the needs in occupied countries.

The Germans and the Japanese have carried on their campaigns of plunder and destruction with one purpose in mind: that in the lands they occupy there shall be left only a generation of half-men -- undernourished, crushed in body and spirit, without strength or incentive to hope -- ready, in fact, to be enslaved and used as beasts of burden by the

self-styled master races.

The occupied countries have been robbed of their foodstuffs and raw materials, and even of the agricultural and industrial machinery upon which their workers must depend for employment. The Germans have been planning systematically to make the other countries economic vassals, utterly dependent upon, (and) completely subservient to the Nazi tyrants.

Responsibility for alleviating the suffering and misery occasioned by this so called New Order must be assumed not by any individual nation but by all of the united and associated nations acting together. No one country could -- or should, for that matter -- attempt to bear the burden of meeting the vast relief needs -- either in money or in supplies.

The work confronting UNRRA is immediate and urgent. As it now begins its operations, many of the most fertile food regions of the world are either under Axis domination, or have been stripped by the practice of the dictatorships to make themselves self-sustaining on other peoples' lands. Additional regions will almost inevitably be blackened as the German and Japanese forces in their retreat scorch the earth behind them.

So, it will be the task of UNRRA to operate in these areas of food shortages until the resumption of peaceful occupations enables the liberated peoples once more to assume the full burden of their own support. It will be for UNRRA, first to assure a fair distribution of available supplies

among all of the liberated peoples, and second, to ward off death by starvation or exposure among these peoples.

It would be supreme irony for us to win a victory, and then to inherit world chaos simply because we were unprepared to meet what we know we shall have to meet. We know common wants -- the human wants that (which) will follow liberation. Many ruthlessly shattered cities and villages in Russia, China and Italy provide horrible evidence of what the defeated retreating Germans and Japanese will leave behind.

It is not only humane and charitable for the United Nations to supply medicine and food and other necessities to the peoples freed from Axis control; it is a clear matter of enlightened self-interest -- and of military strategic necessity. This was apparent to us even before the Germans were ousted from any of the territories (countries) under their control.

But we need not any longer speculate. We have had nearly a year of experience in French Africa -- and later experience in Sicily and in Italy.

In French North Africa, the United Nations have given assistance in the form of seeds, agricultural supplies and agricultural equipment; and have made it possible for the people there to increase their harvest.

After years of looting by the Germans, the people of French Africa are now able to supply virtually all of their own food needs. And that in just one year. Besides, they are meeting important needs of the allied armed forces in

French Africa, in Sicily, in (and) Italy, and giving much of the civilian labor which assists our armed forces there in loading and unloading ships.

The assistance rendered (to) the liberated peoples of French Africa was a joint venture of Great Britain and the United States.

The next step, as in the case of other joint operations of the United Nations, is to handle the problems of supply for the liberated areas on a United Nations basis -- rather than on the cooperation of only two nations.

We have shown that while the war lasts, whenever we help the liberated peoples with essential supplies and services, we hasten the day of the defeat of the Axis powers.

When victory comes there can certainly be no secure peace until there is a return of law and order in the oppressed countries, until the peoples of these countries have been restored to a normal, healthy, and self-sustaining existence. This means that the more quickly and effectually we apply measures of relief and rehabilitation, the more quickly will our own boys overseas be able to come home.

We have acted together with the other United Nations in harnessing our raw materials, our production and our other resources to defeat the common enemy. We have worked together with the United Nations in full agreement and action in the fighting on land, and on the sea and in the air. We are about to take an additional step in the combined act (which) are necessary to win the war and to build t.

foundation for a secure peace.

The sufferings of the little men and women who have been ground under the Axis heel can be relieved only if we utilize the production of ALL the world to balance the want of ALL the world. In UNRRA we have devised a mechanism, based on the processes of true democracy, a mechanism that (which) can go far toward accomplishment of such an objective in the days and months of desperate emergency that (which) will follow the overthrow of the Axis.

As (Like) in most of the difficult and complex things in life, nations will learn to work together only by actually working together. Why not? We nations (They) have common objectives. It is, therefore, with a lift of hope, that we look on the signing of this agreement by all of the United Nations as a means of joining them together still more firmly.

Such is the spirit and such is the positive action of the United Nations and their associates at the time when our military power is becoming predominant, when our enemies are being pushed back -- all over the world.

In defeat or in victory, the United Nations have never deviated from adherence to the basic principles of freedom, and tolerance, independence, and security.

Tomorrow at Atlantic City, the UNRRA begins its first formal conference -- and makes the first bold steps toward the practicable, workable realization of a thing called freedom from want. The forces of the United Nations are marching forward, (and) the peoples of the United Nations march

with them.

So, my friends, on this historic occasion, I wish you  
all the success in the world.

(applause)

ADDRESS of the President  
Broadcast from Hyde Park, N. Y.  
December 24, 1943  
At 3.00 P.M., E.W.T.

My friends:

I have recently (just) returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present -- especially on plans for stepping-up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different points of the compass.

On this Christmas Eve there are over ten million men in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago 1,700,000 were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been more than doubled to 3,800,000 on duty overseas. By next July first that number overseas will rise to over 5,000,000 men and women.

That this is truly a World War was demonstrated to me when arrangements were being made with our overseas broadcasting agencies for the time to speak today to our soldiers, and sailors, and marines and merchant seamen in every part of the world. In fixing the time for this (the) broadcast, we took into consideration that at this moment here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the Northeast Coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Great

Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and the Middle East, it is now evening.

In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and Burma and India, it is already Christmas Day. So we can correctly say that at this moment, in those far eastern parts where Americans are fighting, today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world -- through(out) this war that (which) covers the world -- there is a special spirit that (which) has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood -- a spirit that (which) brings us close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors -- the Christmas spirit of "peace on earth, goodwill toward men." It is an unquenchable spirit.

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas -- a Happy New Year," but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.

And (But) even this year, we still have much to face in the way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy. Our men, who have been through the fierce battles in the Solomons; and the Gilberts, and Tunisia and Italy know, from their own experience and knowledge of modern war, that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought.

But -- on Christmas Eve this year -- I can say to

you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realized and ensured. This year I can say that. Last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty -- though the cost may be high and the time may be long.

Within the past year -- within the past few weeks -- history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

A great beginning was made in the Moscow conference last (in) October by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden and our own Mr. Hull. There and then the way was paved for the later meetings.

At Cairo and Teheran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future -- to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.

Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Teheran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin -- and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We

had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Teheran; but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table. We came to the conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And now we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.

It was well worth traveling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives -- and on the military means of obtaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had (had) an opportunity to go over the complex situation in the Far East with him personally. We were able not only to settle upon definite military strategy, but also to discuss certain long-range principles which we believe can assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come.

Those principles are as simple as they are fundamental. They involve the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners, and the recognition of the rights of millions of people in the Far East to build up their own forms of self-government without molestation. Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific and in the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and marines -- and other soldiers, sailors and marines -- be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting

so gallantly and so successfully today.

Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch, and the British land, air and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is slowly but surely closing in on Japan.

And (On) the mainland of Asia, under the Generalissimo's leadership, the Chinese ground and air forces augmented by American air forces are playing a vital part in starting the drive which will push the invaders into the sea.

Following out the military decisions at Cairo, General Marshall has just flown around the world and has had conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz -- conferences which will spell plenty of bad news for the Japs in the not too far distant future.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision, (and) great courage, and a remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. We discussed all the manifold military plans for striking at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and I believe I can say that he returned to Chungking with the positive assurance of total victory over our common enemy. Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I

went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.

Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions, we agreed on every point concerned with the launching of a gigantic attack upon Germany.

The Russian army will continue its stern offensives on Germany's Eastern front, the allied armies in Italy and Africa will bring relentless pressure on Germany from the south, and now the encirclement will be complete as great American and British forces attack from other points of the compass.

The Commander selected to lead the combined attack from these other points is General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, in Sicily and in Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea and land power. All of these will be under his control. Lieutenant General Carl (D.) Spaatz will command the entire American strategic bombing force operating against Germany.

General Eisenhower gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge that new Commander that our powerful ground, sea and air forces in the vital Mediterranean area will stand by his side until every objective in that bitter theatre is attained.

Both of these new Commanders will have American and British subordinate Commanders whose names will be announced to the world in a few days.

During the last two days in (at) Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and I looked ahead -- ahead to the days and months and years that (which) will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and be given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.

The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful and respectable members of the European family. But we most certainly emphasize that word "respectable" -- for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the "Master Race."

We did discuss international relationships from the point of view of big, broad objectives, rather than details. But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among Russia, Great Britain and the United States.

In these conferences we were concerned with basic principles -- principles which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.

To use an American and somewhat ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal

Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe that we are going to get along very well with him and the Russian people -- very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States and their Allies represent more than three-quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as these four nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with (all) the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.

The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies -- and we reject it.

But, at the same time, we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied -- for as long as it may be necessary.

It has been our steady policy -- and it is certainly a common sense policy -- that the right of each nation to freedom must be measured by the willingness of that nation to fight for freedom. And today we salute our unseen Allies in occupied countries -- the underground resistance groups and the armies of liberation. They will provide potent forces

against our enemies, when the day of the counter-invasion comes.

Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that we have had to discard the geographical yardsticks of the past. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible, for example, for us and for the other American Republics to obtain and maintain (our) independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people, even military experts, thought that the day would ever come when we might have to defend our Pacific Coast against Japanese threats of invasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by German submarines on the high seas or that the German militarists would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside of central Europe.

After the Armistice in 1918, we thought and hoped that the militaristic philosophy of Germany had been crushed; and being full of the milk of human kindness we spent the next twenty (fifteen) years disarming, while the Germans whined so pathetically that the other nations permitted them -- and even helped them -- to rearm.

For too many years we lived on pious hopes that aggressor and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out the doctrine of purely voluntary peace.

The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of former years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try them again. No -- that is putting it too weakly -- it is my intention to do all that I humanly can as President and Commander-in-Chief to see to it that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again.

There have always been cheerful idiots in this country who believed that there would be no more war for us, if everybody in America would only return into their homes and lock their front doors behind them. Assuming that their motives were of the highest, events have shown how unwilling they were to face the facts.

The overwhelming majority of all the people in the world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment of peace -- not just a truce, not just an armistice -- but peace that is as strongly enforced and as durable as mortal man can make it. If we are willing to fight for peace now, is it not good logic that we should use force if necessary, in the future, to keep the peace?

I believe, and I think I can say, that the other three great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan are made to realize thoroughly that the world is not going to let them break out again, it is possible, and, I hope, probable, that they will abandon the philosophy of aggression -- the belief that they can gain the whole world even at the

risk of losing their own souls.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about two weeks' time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.

But today I wish to say that in all my travels, at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which have given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence that we have in General Marshall and in Admiral King who direct all of our armed might throughout the world. Upon them falls the (great) responsibility of planning the strategy of determining (when and) where and when we shall fight. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history, places which will record in that history many evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to win this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible time (date).

(And) We here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full

opportunities for education, and rehabilitation, social security, and employment and business enterprise under the free American system -- and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough and destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall all have to look forward to large casualty lists -- dead, wounded and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

I have been back only for a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war -- that we have already gained the victory. And, perhaps as a result of this false reasoning, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. I hope I am wrong. For, surely, our first and most foremost tasks are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

The massive offensives which are in the making -- both in Europe and the Far East -- will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our Allies can summon

on the fighting fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before, you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.

Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, (and) on blazing deserts, they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and fighting for the thing for which they struggle.(,) I think it is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

On behalf of the American people -- your own people -- I send this Christmas message to you, to you who are in our armed forces:

In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask God's blessing upon you -- upon your fathers, (and) mothers, and wives and children -- all your loved ones at home.

We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.

And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. (God) Keep us strong in our faith that we fight for a better day for human kind -- here and everywhere.

The International Labor Organization Meeting  
With The President. Held In The  
Executive Office Of The President  
May 17, 1944. at 11.25 A.M.. E.W.T.

(the President shook hands individually with the 130 members present. They were introduced by Walter Nash, Minister from New Zealand, the Chairman, and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, the U. S. Government Delegate)

(the Philadelphia Declaration was then signed, on the left leaf of the President's desk, by Walter Nash, Edward J. Phelan, Acting I.L.O. Director, and the President; Secretary Perkins remarking that the President signed as a witness only, which provoked laughter)

(the President then addressed the members, using the prepared remarks before him only as a guide)

THE PRESIDENT: I told Mr. Nash, the Minister from New Zealand, that I missed seeing him a great deal in the past months, and I thought it was high time he returned to his duties in Washington. (laughter)

And so, having just signed the very splendid result of your Conference, I will start off by addressing him first, and then Mr. Goodrich and Mr. Phelan, and then all of you good people who have come down to the White House for this second time. I think it is about two years and a half ago that the last Conference met in the East Room of the White House. This room is a bit small for us, and I am quite sure that some future Conference will require the use of the East Room again. So, you see, this is not a new experience for us.

But I do take great pride in the fact that I was permitted to play a part in the first Conference of the Organization that was held in 1919; and also in this latest great event, because I do consider this Conference to be a great event in the history of the world.

(the above three paragraphs were delivered  
in lieu of the following):

(( Miss Perkins, Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Phelan, Delegates to the Conference: It is a great pleasure to have you with us here in the White House again. As I pointed out to you when we last met -- two and a half years ago -- taking part in a conference of the International Labor Organization is not a new experience for me. I take pride in the fact that I was permitted to play a part in the first conference of the Organization that was held here in Washington in 1919. ))

(from here on, changes in text appear as  
usual)

These are (Those were indeed) trying days, far more trying from our point of view (when last we met). In 1941, when we met last, the fate of the free peoples of the (entire) world hung in the balance. I don't think they hang in the balance any longer. Yet with the courage and the foresight that have always characterized the I.L.O. (International Labor) Organization, you as representatives of the Governments, and Workers and Employers had the boldness -- and I consider it real boldness -- to have come together in a full meeting from all parts of the world, to formulate plans for reconstruction.

It so impressed me just now, as I was shaking hands with you, that I wanted to say to the delegates that had come from countries which are still in prison -- in German hands -- that I hope the next time we all meet, you will have come directly from your own country, actually under its own people and its own government, to wherever the meeting place is. It is something which I think we can keep, not in the back of our heads but in the front of our heads: the restoration of all the nations of the world to their own peoples.

You have been meeting in Philadelphia in a spot where, -- I don't know, what? -- one hundred and sixty to seventy (eight) years ago, the Fathers of this somewhat old Republic affirmed certain truths to be self-evident. They declared (that) among other things that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them Life, and Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. In these words are expressed the abiding purpose of all peoples

imbued with the ideals of freedom and democracy. Let us never forget those words.

The Declaration that (which) you have formulated in Philadelphia may well acquire a similar significance in the days to come. In it you will (have) reaffirm(ed) principles which are the essential bulwarks of any permanent peace. With the expanding use of machinery and the revolution in transportation, and in most other things, it is well that the world should recognize the fundamental principle of your Declaration: "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere." (This principle is a guide to all of our international economic deliberations).

I have seen that in my travels since the last I.L.O. Conference. You know where I have been pretty well, so you will know what I am thinking about. I am thinking about Africa. And I am thinking about certain parts of the Near East, the west coast of Africa, the north coast of Africa, and then the eastern end of the Mediterranean. You know where I went.

And it is perfectly true that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere. I think of a little colony, a little piece of the earth's surface, Gambia, where I happened to have landed from Brazil. Nice, peaceful people, and as the saying goes, poor as church mice. Why mice should be singled out, I don't know. (laughter) But Gambia is very, very poor.

Well, when I was there, I wasn't thinking in terms of who should do it, but if they had a little less poverty,

that would bring prosperity to a lot more people outside of  
Gambia. They are kept down because of exploitation. I think  
that is going to be a new word in the next meeting of the  
I.L.O., something that I have had in the back of my head a long  
time, something that says something against exploitation of  
the poor by the rich -- by governments, as well as individuals.

I think we can get somewhere if we keep that idea of  
being "agin" -- as we say in Irish-American-- "agin" exploita-  
tion everywhere. It will be an awfully good thing for all of  
us.

You have affirmed the right of all human beings to  
 material well-being and spiritual development under conditions  
 of freedom and dignity and under conditions of economic secur-  
 ity and opportunity -- which is saying roughly the same thing  
in better language. The attainment of those conditions must  
 constitute a central aim of national (and international) policy,  
because if it doesn't become the aim of national policies, then  
it won't become the aim of international policies. Indeed,  
 the worthiness and success of these international policies must  
 (will) be measured in the future by the extent to which they  
 promote the achievement of the (this) end.

Your Declaration sums up the aspirations of an epoch  
that (which) has known two world wars. Most of us, I take it,  
were born before the first world war. I confidently believe  
 that future generations will look back on this epoch (upon it)  
 as a landmark in world thinking. I am glad to have the (this)  
 opportunity of indorsing its specific terms and

declarations on behalf of the United States. And I trust, also, that within a short time its specific terms will be wholeheartedly indorsed by all of the United Nations.

As I look over the report of your work, I see that you have, for the first time in history, set out in a form that should (which could) be adopted in (as) a treaty by the nations, a particular series of social objectives. I note that among other things they include full employment, wages and working conditions calculated to insure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, the extension of social security, the recognition of the right of collective bargaining, provision for child welfare and the assurance of adequate educational and vocational opportunities. Therefore, it will be your opportunity (responsibility) to promote these objectives through your own organization, and through such international agencies as may be created. And some will be created.

With great wisdom you have realized that these social objectives cannot be attained and supported without a high level of useful economic activity. You have recommended a series of economic policies and undertakings designed to bring about a material economy that (which) will make it possible to maintain review (them).

You have (also) wisely provided for the further development and reorganization of the International Labor Organization (itself) so that it may be broadened and strengthened to (for) carry(ing) out these social objectives, and at the

same time integrated on a cooperative basis with whatever new (international) agency or agencies are created by the United Nations. And I personally am very confident that the United Nations are going to have at least one new international agency that will bring the whole world closer together than it ever has been before in all history. This forms an admirable pattern for formulating certain aspects of the peace -- to start at the beginning. I want to assure you (that) this Government will do everything in its power to see that the provisions for the attainment of these social and labor objectives shall be included.

The people of the occupied countries are in deep suffering, as we all know. Their representatives have agreed upon the social objectives and economic policies, the views of all (you have) set forth. I trust that this marks the beginning of a new and better day, a period of hope -- hope for material comforts, (for) and security, and then even more greatly the (for) spiritual and personal development, development for all of those groups now suffering so sorely under the hands (heel) of the enemy (oppressor). The United Nations will be determined that all the oppressed of the earth -- and in every hemisphere, and every continent, and all the islands too -- will (shall) be included in these social objectives.

And so I want to offer my congratulations to (those of) you who have had the opportunity of taking part (participated) in this Conference. You have my gratitude for the program of mutual helpfulness which you have laid out -- a program

that ought to and I think (which, I am sure) will inspire all of those in our generation who want to build and maintain a just peace. And may that time come soon.

(prolonged applause for the President)

MR. WALTER NASH: On behalf of the delegates of the Conference and those present, I want to say "thank you very much" for giving us the opportunity to come to this historic White House to present three most important documents, and to sign them here. They were determined after the deliberations of the delegates, and we feel privileged and honored, and also proud to come to you, sir, and to thank you for all that you have done in the past to enable the I.L.O. and all that it stands for to become what it has become.

We doubly thank you for your words in regard to the removal of poverty and exploitation from the world, and the objective that you have in your mind. We are proud to be alongside you in the work that you are doing. I know the representatives from the occupied countries also feel as you feel: to be themselves as early as humanly possible, and to live honorably as free and independent countries.

This is not the time for long speeches. We are glad to be here with you, and we thank you for all that you have done. We doubly thank you that on behalf of the United States you have accepted this Declaration; and we feel, as time passes, that you in turn will go on doing the things that will enable us -- with you, and with the United States

and the other countries that are representatives on it -- to build a better world. We know it can be done. We feel -- the representatives of Governments, Employers and Employees -- that it is going to be done if it is humanly possible for it to be done.

I speak, also, on behalf of the Government group, and every word, as I said on behalf of the Conference as a whole, is reiterated as their representative. But I also feel, as you do -- without long speeches that I know you hear so much of -- that you might like to have a word or two from the chairman of the Employers group, Sir John Forbes Watson from Britain, and I would ask him just to say a word or two, if he would, at this time.

SIR JOHN FORBES WATSON: Mr. President, I have the honor, on behalf of the Employers at this Conference, to thank you for the opportunity of being here today in this tripartite organization where Governments, Employers and Employees work in equality.

It has been proved, however much men may differ as to methods, that they can work together so long as they have a common aim; and our common aim is the words you said, Mr. President, of securing Life, Liberty and Happiness.

The war has deepened our aims, because although it has destroyed things, it has also created things, it has created a bond of unity between freedom-loving peoples.

May I just in a word say how much this

Organization owes to your country for its support, and to you, sir. Two and a half years ago you gave us a message which sustained us in very grim days, and we are going away back now to our respective tasks, once more inspired by your message, determined that liberty shall prevail, and fortified and encouraged by the touch of your hand. (applause)

MR. WALTER NASH: The Workers would like Mr. Jef Rens of Belgium to say a word on their behalf.

(Mr. Rens addressed the President briefly,  
in French)

MR. WALTER NASH: Our closing words, Mr. President, are "thank you very much," and also for Frances Perkins, Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Phelan and Mr. Lubin, the magnificent representatives you sent to be our hosts in your country. They have done a remarkable job. I question whether inside the history of the I.L.O. there ever has been a Conference so successful, or there ever has been a country so good, hospitable and kind as you people have been to us whilst we have been here. That could not have been, were it not for the inspiration that came to us all from your message at the opening of the Conference, and from the work that has been done by Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Lubin, Mr. Phelan, and the others of your nation.

The last words from the Conference are, "thank you very much."

(applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Goodbye, and good luck. And come back and see us again very soon. .

(laughter, and more applause for the President)

THE PRESIDENT'S D-DAY PRAYER  
Broadcast Nationally  
June 6, 1944

My Fellow Americans: Last night, when I spoke with you about the fall of Rome, I knew at that moment that troops of the United States and our Allies were crossing the Channel in another and greater operation. It has come to pass with success thus far.

And so, in this poignant hour, I ask you to join with me in prayer:

Almighty God: Our sons, pride of our nation, this day have set upon a mighty endeavor, a struggle to preserve our Republic, our religion, and our civilization, and to set free a suffering humanity.

Lead them straight and true; give strength to their arms, stoutness to their hearts, steadfastness in their faith.

They will need Thy blessings. Their road will be long and hard. For the enemy is strong. He may hurl back our forces. Success may not come with rushing speed, but we shall return again and again; and we know that by Thy grace, and by the righteousness of our cause, our sons will triumph.

They will be sore tried, by night and by day, without rest -- until the victory is won. The darkness will be rent by noise and flame. Men's souls will be shaken with the violences of war.

For these men are lately drawn from the ways of

peace. They fight not for the lust of conquest. They fight to end conquest. They fight to liberate. They fight to let justice arise, and tolerance and good will among all Thy people. They yearn but for the end of battle, for their return to the haven of home.

Some will never return. Embrace these, Father, and receive them, Thy heroic servants, into Thy kingdom.

And for us at home -- fathers, mothers, children, wives, sisters and brothers of brave men overseas -- whose thoughts and prayers are ever with them -- help us, Almighty God, to rededicate ourselves in renewed faith in Thee in this hour of great sacrifice.

Many people have urged that I call the nation into a single day of special prayer. But because the road is long and the desire is great, I ask that our people devote themselves in a continuance of prayer. As we rise to each new day, and again when each day is spent, let words of prayer be on our lips, invoking Thy help to our efforts.

Give us strength, too -- strength in our daily tasks, to redouble the contributions we make in the physical and the material support of our armed forces.

And let our hearts be stout, to wait out the long travail, to bear sorrows that may come, to impart our courage unto our sons wheresoever they may be.

And, O Lord, give us Faith. Give us Faith in Thee; Faith in our sons; Faith in each other; Faith in our united crusade. Let not the keenness of our spirit ever be dulled.

Let not the impacts of temporary events, of temporal matters of but fleeting moment -- let not these deter us in our unconquerable purpose.

With Thy blessing, we shall prevail over the unholy forces of our enemy. Help us to conquer the apostles of greed and racial arrogancies. Lead us to the saving of our country, and with our sister nations into a world unity that will spell a sure peace -- a peace invulnerable to the schemings of unworthy men. And a peace that will let all of men live in freedom, reaping the just rewards of their honest toil.

Thy will be done, Almighty God.

Amen.

(this was broadcast around 10.00 p.m., e.w.t.)

ADDRESS Of The President  
Broadcast Nationally From A Naval Base  
On The Pacific Coast  
To The Democratic National Convention  
In Chicago, Illinois  
July 20, 1944

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen (Members) of the  
Convention -- My Friends:

I have already indicated to you why I accept the nomination that (which) you have offered me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the Nation, and you have asked me to continue.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, sooner or later, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope that (which) will prevent a new world war. In any event, whenever that time comes, new hands will then have full opportunity to realize the ideals which we seek.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has sought consistently -- and with fair success -- to advance the (lot of the) average American citizen who had been so forgotten during the period after the last war. I am

confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our safer economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based solely on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

I shall not campaign, in the usual sense, for the office. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. And besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time. I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the continent, to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from the (my) train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands and the wide plains and the Great Divide, I could not fail to think of the new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the people of the rest of the world overseas -- on the islands of the Pacific, in the Far East, and in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself.

For Oklahoma and California, for example, are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1778(6). Today, Oklahoma and California are being defended in Normandy and on Saipan; and they must be defended there -- for what

happens in Normandy and Saipan vitally affects the security and well-being of every human being in Oklahoma and California.

Mankind changes the scope and the breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The civilization in the Far East was barely known of. The American Continents were unheard of.

And even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people of North America in Colonial days knew only their Atlantic Seaboard and the tiny (a small) portion of the other Americas, and they turned mostly (of the time) for trade and international relationship to Europe. Africa, at that time, (then) was considered only as the provider of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to our ancestors (them).

During the Nineteenth Century, during that era of development and expansion on this continent, we felt a natural isolation -- geographic, economic and political -- an isolation from the vast world which lay overseas.

Not until this generation -- roughly this century -- have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. Yes, it has been a wrench perhaps -- but a very necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and the ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are

becoming slowly extinct. The American people now know that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force, and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know how truly the world has become one -- that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore -- if for no other reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the world.

And that is why your Government for many, many months has been laying plans, and studying the problems of the near future -- preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war, may continue constantly to improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in all our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization

and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for our civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs, things do not stand still. An army or a navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other fields -- in the physical things that (which) are a part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties under the Constitution. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win the war (it) fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the armed forces of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. And third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans -- which will provide employment and provide decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn over this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced or (and) immature hands, to those

who opposed Lend-Lease and international cooperation against the forces of aggression and tyranny, until they could read the polls of popular sentiment; or whether they wish to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

They will also decide, these people of ours (this fall), whether they will entrust the task of postwar reconversion to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple-selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, and agriculture, and industry, and finance and labor in 1933, and who have already planned and put through much legislation to help our veterans resume their normal occupations in a well-ordered reconversion process.

They will not decide these questions by reading glowing words or platform pledges -- the mouthings of those who are willing to promise anything and everything -- contradictions, inconsistencies, impossibilities -- anything which might snare a few votes here and a few votes there.

They will decide on the record -- the record written on the seas, on the land, (and) in the skies.

They will decide on the record of our domestic accomplishments in recovery and reform since March 4, 1933.

And they will decide on the record of our war production and food production -- unparalleled in all history, in spite of the doubts and sneers of those in high places who said it can (could) not be done.

They will decide on the record of the International Food Conference, of UNRRA -- the relief organization, of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference.

And they will decide on the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and at Teheran.

We have made mistakes. Who has not?

Things will (have) not always (been) be perfect. Are they ever perfect, in human affairs?

But the objective -- the objective at home and abroad -- has always been clear before us. Constantly, we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is plain and unmistakeable as to that -- a record for everyone to read.

The greatest wartime President in our history, after a wartime election which he called the "most reliable indication of public purpose in this country" set the goal for the United States, a goal in terms as applicable today as they were in 1865 -- terms which the human mind cannot improve:

"....with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall

have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

H O L D F O R R E L E A S E

CONFIDENTIAL: The following radio address of the President to be delivered at the Puget Sound Navy Yard, Bremerton, Washington, on Saturday, August 12, 1944, MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation is to be published or given out until delivery has begun.

NOTE: Release is when the President actually begins speaking. The same release conditions mentioned above also apply to the radio as well as to the press.

EXTREME CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO AVOID PREMATURE RELEASE.

EDWIN M. WATSON  
Secretary to the President

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Ladies and gentlemen, officers and men of the Puget Sound Navy Yard:

I am glad to be back here in well-known surroundings, for, as you know, I have been coming here off and on ever since I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1913, and that's over thirty years ago.

It's nearly about four weeks ago since I left Washington, but, of course, at all times I have been in close touch with the work there and also in daily communication with our forces in the European and Far Eastern theatres of war.

Since my visit here at Bremerton nearly two years ago I have been happy at all times to know of the splendid progress that is being maintained --kept up -- both here and at many other places on the Coast, progress in turning out ships and planes and munitions of almost every other kind and in the training of men and women for all of the armed forces.

So I have thought that you would be interested in an in-

formal summary of the trip I have just taken to Hawaii and from there to the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, from which, when I get across the Sound, I am about to step foot on the shore of the continental United States again.

When I got to San Diego three weeks ago I spent three days before going on shipboard, and I had the opportunity at the southern end of the Pacific Coast to visit many of the patients in the large hospitals there, a large number of these patients having just come back from the fighting in the Marshall Islands and the Marianas.

And I also witnessed a large practice landing operation on the beaches of Southern California, between Los Angeles and San Diego.

It's a kind of warfare that has been most successfully developed by us during the past two years. It's a warfare of a wholly new type calling for all kinds of new equipment and new training.

And I think I can safely say that no other nation in the world has worked it out as successfully as we have -- the way we have shown it within the past few weeks in the capture of Saipan and Tinian and the recapturing of Guam, an effort which is resulting in new threats against Japan itself and against all of their operations in the Southwest Pacific.

You know, it takes a personal observation -- you've got to see things with your own eyes, such as I saw from a high bluff right on the coast overlooking the shore below -- to understand how well the application of experience in war is being carried out.

The landing craft, a wholly new type of ship, one we didn't dream of two years and a half ago, came to the beach from the transports that were lying offshore under cover of a fog.

They came on in waves, the marines and the infantry getting the first toehold, followed by other waves and then by all manner of equipment, ammunition and wire and tanks, all protected by air coverage and preceded theoretically -- because I wouldn't be here today if it was real -- by a devastating bombardment from heavy ships lying offshore.

When the beachhead was obtained to a depth of a mile or two there followed the unloading of great quantities of supplies and stores of all kinds, including tanks and trucks and jeeps.

Timing -- that's why we have to practice this -- timing is of the utmost importance. Any operation of this kind has to be carried out click-click-click, right on schedule, together with instantaneous communication both the radio, the written kind and the voice from the shore to the ships and to the planes themselves.

Here was demonstrated the perfect cooperation between all the services -- Army and Navy and Marines, and to this should be added the teamwork for the immediate care of the wounded -- in the case I saw it was the theoretically wounded -- and the quick transfer of them back to the hospital ships.

We in our comfortable homes, I think, ought to realize more than we do that to all troops and Marines who are to conduct a new landing expedition on some far distant island in the Pacific,

as well as on the coast of France, this amphibious training is being given at a number of places in the United States before the expedition ever starts.

Hundreds of instructors are required, nearly all men who have participated in actual combat operations beforehand, and many of these instructors, most of them, indeed, will, of course, accompany the troops in the actual operation of the future landings.

The cruiser, which is on her way to another place, the cruiser on which I went from San Diego to Honolulu, is one of a number of what we call post-treaty cruisers, much larger, more powerful and faster than the pre-war cruisers, which were limited by the old treaties to 10,000 tons.

This particular ship on which I voyaged joined the Pacific Fleet less than a year ago in the Western and Southwestern Pacific. Hers is a magnificent record. Her skipper and crew have brought her through all of these many offensive missions unscathed, fifteen of them, fifteen battles.

And because of the experience that she has gained and that they have gained she is an even more powerful weapon than she was the day that she joined the fleet.

Well, the voyage was uneventful and we arrived at Pearl Harbor on July 26. At this moment may I just add a word of appreciation to the press and the radio of our country. You know we have a voluntary censorship, purely voluntary. I want to thank them for the protection and the security which they gave to me and to my party at a time on this trip when nearly all the time I was within easy reach of enemy action.

The press associations and some of the newspapers actually refused to publish the facts which they got from local friends who had heard of my arrival and my trip around the Hawaiian Islands -- or from local friends whose sons out there had written home about it -- and the newspapers didn't print it. That is a modern marvel.

Well, I got there on the twenty-sixth of July and what an amazing change since my visit there ten years ago: as big and bigger a change than a comparison between the Puget Sound Navy Yard of today with what this was ten years ago.

But out there -- the change! At that time Pearl Harbor had maintained a steady growth as this yard has, so that today it is capable of making repairs to the heaviest ships, and employs a force nearly ten times as great as it did then. And, incidentally, very many of that force came straight there during the past two years and a half from the West Coast.

All of the battleships and smaller craft that were sunk or damaged in the attack on Pearl Harbor on the seventh of December, 1941, have been raised with the exception of the Arizona. In her case, because of the explosion in her forward magazine, salvage was impossible. But again in her case, her main battery of heavy guns was removed and remounted and now forms a part of the coastal defenses on the island of Oahu.

All of the other ships are afloat, most of them having been put back into commission here at Puget Sound, and nobody will ever forget that.

And, incidentally, the ships that you put back into commission, what you did to them in the process, has made of them vastly more power-

ful ships, better ships, with more gun power than they had before they were sunk.

And that's one thing that I'll never forget, the way that sunken fleet was set afloat again and has gone over the world in actually carrying out the plans of this war.

They've been in service, they've been in action, in the Pacific and elsewhere. Indeed, one of them, I think it is the Nevada, took part in the bombardment of the coast of Normandy during and after the landing operations there on the sixth of June this year.

I spent three days on the Island of Oahu, and everywhere, as at the Navy Yard, the war activities have multiplied almost beyond belief.

On the afternoon of my arrival my old friend General Douglas MacArthur arrived by air from New Guinea and we began a series of extremely interesting and useful conferences, accompanied by Admiral Nimitz and by my own Chief of Staff, Admiral Leahy, who stands beside me now, and General Richardson, the commanding general of the Army forces in the Hawaiian area and Admiral Halsey, commander of the Third Fleet.

In the three days we were there we talked about Pacific problems and the best methods of conducting the Pacific campaign in the days to come. These discussions developed complete accord both in the understanding of the problem that confronts us and in the opinion as to the best methods for its solution.

All of us must bear in mind the enormous size of the Pacific Ocean, the Pacific area, keeping a mental map of the world constantly in mind. The distances are greater there than anywhere else on earth.

In the old days the Hawaiian Islands used to be considered an outpost. We were not allowed to fortify Guam, nor did we fortify Wake,

or Midway or Samoa.

Today the Hawaiian Islands are no longer a mere outpost. They constitute a major base from which, and from the Pacific coast, front-line operations are being conducted twice as far away as the distance between the coast and Hawaii itself.

The Hawaiian Islands have helped to make possible the victories at Guadalcanal and New Guinea and the Marshalls and the Marianas. The islands will make possible future operations in China -- will make possible the recapture and independence of the Philippines and make possible the carrying of war into the home islands of Japan itself and their capital city of Tokyo.

In a few minutes I think it will interest you if you will let me say a few additional words about the future of the Pacific.

But first, during the rest of my stay in Hawaii, I visited the many activities, including the great airfields, the hospitals and an ambulance plane at Hickam Field which had just flown in with wounded men from Saipan. I reviewed the Seventh Division, which has made such a splendid record.

I saw a large Army group that was going through a complete course in jungle warfare -- they have to do it there because we haven't got any jungles around here -- jungle warfare, an art which we have developed so expertly that our troops are more than a match in the jungle for any Japanese whom we have met yet. And I am proud of all <sup>of</sup> this basic training and the final training of our sons -- all that they're getting both at home and when they get near the front.

After rejoining our ship we headed for the Aleutian Islands. I had read about them -- heard about them -- but I'd never been there

before.

Arriving four days later at Adak, which is one of the more westerly islands of the group, there again I found intense activity at what might be called a nearly complete advance base. It was from there that a great part of the expeditions for the recapture of Attu and Kiska started. Adak two years ago was a bleak and practically uninhabited spot which with the other Aleutian Islands seemed relatively unimportant in the plans for the security of our own continent.

You here can well realize the commotion that followed the Japanese occupation of Attu and Kiska. You've dreamt of Japanese marching up the streets of Bremerton or Seattle tomorrow morning. You may have thought that the Chiefs of Staff in Washington were not paying enough attention to the threat against Alaska and the coast. We realized, of course, that such a Japanese threat could become serious if it was unopposed. But we knew also that Japan did not have the naval and air power to carry the threat into effect without greater resources and a longer time to carry it out.

Preparation to throw the Japanese from their toehold, very skimpy toehold, had been laid even before the Japs got there, and the rest of the story you know.

It took great preparations and heavy fighting to eject them from Attu and by the time the great expedition to recapture Kiska got there the Japanese had decided that discretion was the better part of valor. They decided that retirement and retreat was better for them than hara-kiri, and so they abandoned the Aleutians.

The climate at Adak is not the most inviting in the

world, but I want to say a word of appreciation to the thousands of officers and men of all the services who have built up this base and other bases, many other bases, in the extreme northwest of the American Continent, built them up in such a short time to a point where the people of our Pacific Coast, the people of British Columbia and of Alaska, can feel certain that we are safe against Japanese invasion on any large scale.

We were delayed by fog and rain as almost everybody is up in those parts; we had to give up putting in at Dutch Harbor but we did stop at Kodiak, a large island off the end of the Alaskan Peninsula. Here, also, the three services completed a very excellent, though smaller, base. The first little town really that we built in those parts, and there's actually a small community there, the first that we saw in Alaskan waters and the first trees that we saw, because the outer Aleutians just don't have trees. That town and those trees made me think of the coasts of Maine and Newfoundland.

We were told that a number of officers and men at this place and other posts are considering settling in Alaska after the war is over. I do hope that this is so because the development of Alaska has only been scratched and it is still the country of the pioneers, and in one sense every American is a descendant of pioneers.

Only a small part of Alaska's resources have been explored and there is, of course, an abundance of fish and game and timber, together with great possibilities for agriculture. I could not help remembering that the climate and the crops and other resources are not essentially different from northern Europe --

Norway and Sweden, Finland -- for the people of these countries in spite of the cold and in winter darkness have brought their civilizations to a very high and very prosperous level. On my return to Washington I am going to set up a study of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands as a place to which many veterans of this war, especially those who do not have strong home roots, can go to become pioneers. Alaska is a land with a very small population, but I am convinced that it has great opportunities for those who are willing to work to help build up all kinds of new things in new lands.

So this <sup>r</sup>tip has given me a chance to talk over the social and economic future of the Hawaiian group with Governor Stainback and the future of the people of Alaska with Governor Gruening. By the way, he asked me to assure you that the tan which I have acquired in Alaska in a week has come from the bright sunlight of Alaska. Near Juneau one afternoon, when we were nearly fogged out, I played hockey for three hours. I went fishing and I caught one halibut and one flounder.

Speaking again of the future, of the future of the defense of the Pacific and the use of its strong points in order to prevent attacks against us.

You who live in the Pacific Northwest have realized that a line for sea and air navigation following the Great Circle course from Puget Sound to Siberia and China passes very close to the Alaskan coast and thence westward along the line of the Aleutian Islands.

From the point of view of natural defense, therefore, it is essential that our control of this route shall be undis-

puted. Everybody in Siberia and China knows that we have no ambition to acquire land on the Asiatic continent.

We as a people are utterly opposed to aggression and sneak attacks. But we as a people are insistent that other nations must not under any circumstances through the foreseeable future commit such attacks against the United States. Therefore, it is essential that we be fully prepared to prevent them for all time to come.

The word and the honor of Japan cannot be trusted. That is a simple statement from the military and naval and air point of view. But with the end of a Japanese threat, soon we hope, there is an excellent outlook for a permanent peace in the whole of the Pacific area.

It is therefore natural and proper for us to think of the economic and the commercial future. It is logical that we should foresee a great interchange of commerce between our shores and those of Siberia and China.

And in this commercial development Alaska and the Aleutian Islands become automatic stepping stones for trade, both by water and by cargo planes. And this means the automatic development of transportation on the way there, including the Puget Sound area.

It is as long as ten years, I think, that I talked with Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, in regard to the development of highways, in regard to air routes and even a railroad via the northwest and British Columbia and the Yukon. Great interest in both nations was aroused but it took the war to get quick action.

Today the Alcan Highway is practically completed and an air route to Fairbanks enables us to deliver thousands of planes to our ally Russia by way of Alaska and Bering Straits and Siberia. These planes are an important factor in the brilliant and brave advance of the Russian armies on their march to Berlin. And I might observe also that our close relations, our true friendship with Canada during these years has proved to be an illustrious example of working hand in hand with your neighbor for the general good.

South of this northern route, Alaska and the Aleutians, the use of other island groups must also be thought of for defense and for commerce in getting to and from the Asiatic and the American Continents. We understand at last the importance of the Hawaiian Islands. It is important that we have other bases, forward bases nearer to Japan than Hawaii lies.

The same thing, we have to remember, holds true in regard to the defense of all the other American Republics, twenty others, from Mexico down past the Panama Canal and all the way down to Chile. There are hundreds of islands in the South Pacific that bear the same relation to South America and Central America and the Panama Canal as Hawaii bears to North America.

These islands are mostly in the possession of the British Empire and the French. They are important commercially just as they are from the defense point of view because they lead to New Zealand, and Australia, and the Dutch Islands and the Southern Philippines. With all these places we undoubtedly are going to have a growing trade.

We have no desire to ask ~~for~~ any possessions of the United Nations. But the United Nations who are working so well

with us in the winning of the war will, I am confident, be glad to join us in protection against aggression and in machinery to prevent aggression. With them and with their help I am sure that we can agree completely so that Central and South America will be as safe against attack -- attack from the South Pacific -- as North America is going to be very soon from the north Pacific as well.

The self-interests of our Allies is going to be affected by fair and friendly collaboration with us. They too will gain in national security. They will gain economically. The destinies of the peoples of the whole Pacific will for many years be entwined with our own destiny. Already there are stirring among hundreds of millions of them a desire for the right to work out their own destinies and they show no evidence in this Pacific area to overrun the earth -- with one exception.

That exception is and has been for many, many years that of Japan and the Japanese people -- because whether or not the people of Japan itself know and approve of what their war lords and their home lords have done for nearly a century, the fact remains that they seem to be giving hearty approval to the Japanese policy of acquisition of their neighbors and their neighbors' lands and a military and economic control of as many other nations as they can lay their hands on.

It is an unfortunate fact that other nations cannot trust Japan. It is an unfortunate fact that years of proof must pass by before we can trust Japan and before we can classify Japan as a member of the society of nations which seeks permanent peace and

whose word we can take.

In removing the future menace of Japan to us and to our continent we are holding out the hope that other people in the Far East can be freed from the same threat.

The people of the Philippines never have wished and never will wish to be slaves of Japan. Of the people of Korea, that ancient kingdom which was overrun by the Japanese half a century ago, the same is true. The peoples of Manchuria and all the rest of China, feel the same.

The same thing is true of the peoples of Indo-China and Siam, the peoples of Java and even the most primitive peoples of New Guinea and the so-called mandated islands which I am glad to say we are in the splendid process of throwing the Japs out from.

I am glad to have the opportunity of taking this short trip, first, for the conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz and, secondly, for the first hand view of certain bases that are of vital importance to the ending of the war and to the prevention in the future of any similar attack.

More than a million of our troops are today overseas in the Pacific. The war is well in hand in this vast area, but I cannot tell you, if I knew, when the war will be over, either in Europe or in the Far East or the war against Japan itself.

It will be over sooner, if the people of this country will maintain the making of the necessary supplies of ships and planes and all the things that go with them. By so doing we shall hasten the day of the peace. By so doing we will save our own pocketbooks and those of our children. And by so doing we will stand a better chance

of substantial unity not only at home but among the united nations  
in laying so securely what we all want, the foundation of a lasting  
peace.

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ADDRESS Of The President  
At The Dinner Given By The  
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs,  
Warehousemen and Helpers of America  
At The Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C.  
September 23, 1944  
at 9.30 p.m., e.w.t.  
Broadcast Nationally

(after being introduced by Daniel Tobin, a  
tremendous ovation was given the President)

Mr. Tobin -- I should say Dan, I always have -- ladies  
and gentlemen. I am very much touched, and I am very happy in  
your applause, and very happy at the informalities of this dinner  
with old friends of mine. (applause) You know -- you know, this  
is not the first time that we have met together on this basis,  
and I am particularly happy that this national campaign opens in  
your presence as it did four years ago. (applause) And I don't  
mind mentioning the fact that Dan Tobin and I are just a little  
bit superstitious. (applause)

Well, here we are -- here we are (together) again --  
after four years -- and what years they have been! You know, I  
am actually four years older -- (laughter) -- which is a fact  
that seems to annoy some people. (more laughter) In fact, in  
the mathematical field there are millions of Americans who (us)  
are more than eleven years older than when we started in to  
clear up the mess that was dumped in our laps in 1933.  
(applause)

We all know that certain people who make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor -- who even attack labor as unpatriotic -- they keep this up usually for three years and six months in a row. But then, for some strange reason -- (laughter) -- they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day. (more laughter) When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor -- (more laughter) -- and that they are anxious (eager) to protect labor (it) from its old friends. (continued laughter)

I got quite a laugh, for example -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws."  
(laughter)

You know, many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates, who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention Hall would not even recognize these progressive laws, if they met them in broad daylight. (more laughter) Indeed, they have personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, and in the press, and in the courts, ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. That is a fair example of their

insincerity and of their inconsistency. (more laughter)

The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and the depression, and that the Republican party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.

(continued laughter)

Now, imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery -- but I am afraid -- I am afraid that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud. (more laughter, and applause)

Of course, it is perfectly true that there are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican party, and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements were not able to drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions.

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal?  
(laughter)

I think not. (more laughter)

We have all seen many marvelous stunts in the circus, but no performing elephant could turn a hand-spring without falling flat on his back. (laughter, cheers and applause)

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into these four years since I saw you last.

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who

raised their voices against our preparations for defense -- before and after 1939 -- objected to them, raised their voices against them as hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 -- my, it seems a long time ago -- they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the world -- they could not stop America. (cheers and applause)

There are some politicians who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe and Asia were headed our way, who said that the lend-lease bill "would bring an end -- and I am quoting -- to free government in the United States," and who said, and I am quoting, "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplate war on (upon) us." These men -- these very men are now asking the American people to intrust to them the conduct of our foreign policy and our military policy.

What the Republican leaders are now saying in effect is this: "Oh, just forget what we used to say, we have changed our minds now -- we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things -- (laughter) -- and (we) now we know what the American people want." (more laughter) And they say: "Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it -- (laughter) -- and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who have had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it. Why, just turn it all

over to us. We'll do it so skilfully -- that we won't lose a single isolationist vote or a single isolationist campaign contribution." (laughter, cheers and applause)

I think there is one thing that you know, I am too old for that. I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time. (more laughter, cheers and applause)

The (This) Government -- the Government of the United States welcomes all sincere supporters of the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakeable determination to build the solid structure of peace. And they too will resent this campaign -- this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life a few short months ago -- (laughter) -- when -- when they began to study the polls of public opinion. (more laughter, cheers and applause)

Those who today have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statements of men who, without responsibility and without the knowledge of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of dividing our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the Commanding Generals of the different theatres of war. And I may say that those Commanding Generals are making good in a big way. (cheers and applause)

When I addressed you four years ago, I said this. I said, "I know that America will never be disappointed in its

expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job -- the job we now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly." (cheers and applause)

Today we know that America has not been disappointed. In his Order of the Day when the Allied Armies first landed in Normandy two months ago, General Eisenhower said: "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war." (cheers and applause)

The country knows that there is a breed of cats, luckily not too numerous, called labor-baiters. I know that (there are) those labor-baiters among the opposition (who) are there, but who instead of calling attention to the achievements of labor in this war, prefer to pick on the occasional strikes that (which) have occurred -- strikes that (which) have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader. (cheers and applause) I ought to say, parenthetically, all but one. (more laughter, cheers and applause) (-- every national leader except one) And that one labor leader, incidentally, is (certainly) not conspicuous among my supporters. (more laughter)

Labor-baiters forget that at our peak American labor and management have turned out airplanes at the rate of 109,000 a (per) year; tanks -- 57,000 a (per) year; combat vessels -- 573 a (per) year; landing vessels, to get the troops ashore -- 31,000 a (per) year; cargo ships -- 19 million tons a (per) year -- (cheers and applause) -- and Henry Kaiser is here tonight, I am glad to say -- (more cheers and applause); and small arms ammunition -- oh, I can't understand it, I don't believe you

can, either -- 23 billion rounds a (per) year.

But a strike is news, and generally appears in shrieking headlines -- and, of course, they say labor is always to blame. The fact is that since Pearl Harbor only one-tenth of one percent of manhours have been lost by strikes. Can you beat that? (prolonged cheers and applause)

But, you know, even those candidates who burst out in election year -- election-year affection for social legislation and for labor in general, still think that you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. (laughter) And above all, they hate to see any working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. (more laughter) Of course, it is all right for large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars -- but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching. (more laughter)

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote -- unless you happen to be a soldier or a sailor overseas, or a merchant seaman carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made it pretty hard for you to vote at all -- for there are some political candidates who think that they may have a chance of election, if only the total vote is small enough. (laughter and applause)

And while I am on the subject of voting, let me urge every American citizen -- man and woman -- to use your sacred privilege of voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. Our millions of soldiers and sailors and merchant

seamen have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians, those (and) candidates who think that they stand to lose by such votes. You here at home have the freedom of the ballot. Irrespective of party, you should register and vote this November. I think that is a matter of plain good citizenship.

Words come easily, but they do not change the record. You are, most of you, old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932.

You remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation wages; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the "Hoovervilles," and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads, (and) the empty docks; the blank despair of a whole nation -- and the utter impotence of the (our) Federal Government.

You remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together ever since those days.

Now there are some politicians (of course) who do not remember that far back -- (laughter) -- and there are some who remember but find it convenient to forget. No, (But) the record is not to be washed away that easily.

The opposition in this year has already imported into this campaign a very interesting thing, because it is foreign. They have imported the propaganda technique invented by the

dictators abroad. Remember, a number of years ago, there was a book Mein Kampf written by Hitler himself. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book -- and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. According to that technique, you should never use a small falsehood; always a big one -- (laughter) -- for its very fantastic nature would (will) make it more credible -- if only you keep repeating it over and over and over again. (more laughter, and applause)

Well, let us take some simple illustrations that come to mind. For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation was (has been) saved in 1933 -- that this Administration -- this one -- today -- is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people have always thought had been brought about during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power. (applause)

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of a rope in the house of a man (one) who has been hanged." (laughter) In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a mixed audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is that word "depression." (more laughter, and applause)

You know, they pop up all the time. For another example, I learned -- much to my amazement -- that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil

life. (laughter)

Well, (Why) the very day that this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department -- a plan based on (upon) the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization did, of course, a very simple thing, it was an effort to stimulate fear among American mothers and wives and sweethearts. And, incidentally, it was hardly calculated to bolster the morale of our soldiers and sailors and airmen who are fighting our battles all over the world.

But perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war that (which) was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one. (laughter and applause) For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of America had already forgotten that many of the Republican leaders in the Congress and outside the Congress tried to thwart and block nearly every attempt that (which) this Administration made to warn our people and (to) arm our (this) nation. (cheers and applause) Some of them called our 50,000 airplane program fantastic. Many of those very same leaders who fought every defense measure that we proposed are still in control of the Republican party -- look at their names -- were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and would be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican party, in the event of a Republican victory this fall.

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on (upon) me, or my wife, or on my sons. No, not content with that they now include my little dog, Fala. (prolonged laughter, cheers and applause) Well, of course, I don't resent attacks, and my family don't resent attacks, but Fala does resent them. (more laughter, cheers and applause) You know -- you know, Fala is Scotch, and (Unlike the members of my family, he resents this). being a Scottie, as soon as he learned that the Republican fiction-writers in Congress and out had concocted a story that I had left him behind on the (an) Aleutian Islands and had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three, or eight or twenty million dollars -- his Scotch soul was furious. (continued laughter and applause) He has not been the same dog since. (again more laughter and applause) I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods about myself -- such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to resent, to object to libelous statements about my dog. (more laughter and applause)

Well, I think (But) we all recognize the old technique. The people of this country know the past too well to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will and the same skill and intelligence and devotion that (which) have already led us so far along (on) the road to victory.

There is the task of finishing victoriously this most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the

least cost in lives.

There is the task of setting up international machinery to assure (that) the peace, once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task that (which) we face here at home -- the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched -- (spelling): b-o-t-c-h-e-d -- they were botched by a Republican administration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen this time. (cheers and applause)

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples (to be) sold on street corners. (cheers and applause)

Many months ago -- many months ago, this Administration set up (the) necessary machinery for an orderly peace-time demobilization. The Congress has (now) passed much more legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization -- with additional powers to carry out their functions.

I know that the American people -- business and labor and agriculture -- have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. (cheers and applause) And I know that they can sustain a national income that (which) will assure full production and full employment under our democratic system of private enterprise, with Government encouragement and aid

whenever and wherever that (it) is necessary.

The keynote back of all this literature that we read,  
the keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be  
found in the one word jobs. (applause)

We shall lease or dispose of our Government-owned  
plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land, on  
the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise  
to give jobs to the greatest number. (cheers and applause)

We shall follow a wage policy that (which) will sustain  
the purchasing power of labor -- for that means more production  
and more jobs. (cheers and applause)

You and I know that the present policies on wages and  
prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of  
the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a  
relatively stable level. Through the demobilization period,  
policies will be carried out with the same objective in mind --  
to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as  
they were in the Republican catastrophe that (which) we  
inherited. The returning soldiers, the workers by their machines,  
the farmers in the field, the miners, the men and women in of-  
fices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten. (cheers and  
applause)

No, they know that they are not surplus. Because they  
know that they are America. (applause)

We must set targets and objectives for the future  
which will seem impossible -- like the airplanes -- to

those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past.  
(cheers and applause)

And for months -- and today and in the future we are working and will continue to put forth (We are even now organizing) the logistics of the peace, just as Marshall and King and Arnold, MacArthur, Eisenhower and Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war. (cheers and applause)

I think that the victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be far more than a victory against fascism and reaction and the dead hand of despotism (and) of the past. The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be a victory for democracy. It will constitute such an affirmation of the strength and power and vitality of government by the people as history has never before witnessed.  
(cheers and applause)

And so, my friends, we have had (With that) affirmation of the vitality of democratic government behind us, that demonstration of its resilience and its capacity for decision and for action -- we have (with) that knowledge of our own strength and power -- we move forward with God's help to the greatest epoch of free achievement by free men that the world has ever known.  
(or imagined possible.)

(prolonged cheers and applause)

ADDRESS Of The President  
At Shibe Park, Philadelphia, Pa.  
October 27, 1944, at 9.00 p.m., e.w.t.  
Radio Broadcast

My Friends -- My Friends, I am glad to come back to Philadelphia. And today is the anniversary -- the anniversary (of the birth) of a great fighting American -- Theodore Roosevelt.

This day -- his birthday -- is celebrated every year as Navy Day -- and I think that Theodore Roosevelt would be happy and proud to know that our American fleet today (now) is greater than all the navies of the world put together. (cheers and applause)

And when I say all the navies, I am including what was -- until three days ago -- the Japanese fleet. (laughter, cheers and applause)

Since Navy Day a year ago, our armed forces -- Army, Navy and Air (Forces) -- have participated in no fewer than twenty-seven different D-Days -- twenty-seven different landings in force on enemy-held soil (shores).

Every one of those (these) landings has been an incredibly complicated, (and) hazardous undertaking, as you realize, requiring months of most careful planning, flawless coordination, and literally split-second timing in execution. The larger operations have required hundreds of warships, thousands of smaller craft, thousands of airplanes, and hundreds of thousands of men.

And every one of these twenty-seven D-Days has been a triumphant success. (cheers and applause)

I think it's (It is) a remarkable achievement that within less than five months we have been able to carry out major offensive operations in both Europe and the Philippines -- thirteen thousand miles apart from each other.

And speaking of the glorious operations in the Philippines -- I wonder -- whatever became of the suggestion made a few weeks ago, that I had failed for political reasons to send enough forces or supplies to General MacArthur? (cheers and applause)

Now of course, I realize that in this political campaign it is considered by some to be very impolite to mention the fact that there's (is) a war on. (laughter)

But, the war is still on and eleven million American fighting men know it -- and so do their families. And in that war I bear a responsibility that (which) I can never shirk and never, for one instant, forget.

For the Constitution of the United States says -- and I hope you will pardon me if I quote it correctly -- (laughter) -- the Constitution says, "The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States." (cheers and applause)

And I am not supposed to mention that, either. (laughter)

But somehow or other, it seems to me that this is a matter of considerable importance to the (American) people

of the United States. (laughter)

You know, it was due to no accident, (and) no oversight, that the framers of our Constitution -- in this City -- put the command of our armed forces under civilian authority.

And as a result, it's (It is) the duty of the Commander-in-Chief to appoint the Secretaries of War and Navy and the Chiefs of Staff -- and I feel called upon to offer no apologies for my selection of Henry Stimson, the late Frank Knox and Jim (James) Forrestal, or of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. (cheers and applause)

Furthermore, the Commander-in-Chief has final responsibility for determining how our resources shall be distributed as between our land forces, our sea forces and our air forces, and as among the different theatres of operation(s), and also what portion of these great resources of ours shall be turned over to our Allies.

Our teamwork with our Allies in this war has involved innumerable intricate problems that (which) could be settled only around the conference table by those who had final authority.

The other day, I am told, a prominent Republican orator stated -- (laughter, and boos) -- stated that, and I am quoting -- (more boos) -- he said, quote, (that): "There are not five civilians in the entire national government who have the confidence and respect of the American people." (more boos)

In fact, he went on to describe(d) your present

Administration as "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office." (more boos)

Well, you know (now), that's (is) pretty serious -- (laughter) -- because the only conclusion to be drawn from that is that we are losing this (the) war. (cries of No, and laughter) If so, that will be news to most of us -- and it will certainly be news to the Nazis and the Japs. (laughter and applause)

Now, I like a thing called the record, and the record will show that from almost the first minute of this (my) Administration -- twelve years ago, nearly -- I started to rebuild the United States Navy which had been whittled down (during previous Administrations). (applause) What the Navy suffered from conspicuously during three (these) Republican Administrations was a drastic false economy, which not only scrapped ships but even prevented adequate target practice, adequate maneuvers, enough oil (and) or adequate supplies. Indeed, it (had) reached the point that on some vessels the crews -- who at least were patriotic -- those crews chipped in out of their own pockets to buy their own brass polish to keep the bright work shining. (laughter)

The record will show that (--) when we were attacked in December '41 (at Pearl Harbor), we had already made tremendous progress toward building the greatest war machine the world has ever known.

Take, for example, just the other day, the ships of Admiral Halsey's powerful Third Fleet that helped to give

(which has just given) the Japanese Navy the worst licking in its history. (applause)

Every battleship in his (that) Fleet was authorized between nineteen hundred and thirty-three and nineteen hundred and thirty-eight. (applause) Construction had begun on all of those ships -- battleships -- by September, nineteen (hundred and) forty -- well over a year before Pearl Harbor.

All but two of the great force of cruisers in Admiral Halsey's Fleet were authorized between nineteen hundred and thirty-three and nineteen (hundred and) forty; and construction on all but one of them had begun before Pearl Harbor.

All (of) the aircraft carriers in that Fleet had been authorized by the present Administration before Pearl Harbor, and half of them were actually under construction before Pearl Harbor.

There's (is) the answer -- just a little part of it -- once and for all -- to a Republican candidate who said that this Administration had made, quote, "absolutely no military preparation for the events that it now claims it foresaw." (applause)

Why, less than three months before Hitler launched his murderous assault against Poland, the Republicans in the House of Representatives -- your House, my House -- voted one hundred and forty-four to eight in favor of cutting the appropriations for the Army Air Corps. (boos)

You know, I often think how Hitler and Hirohito must have laughed in those days.

But they're (are) not laughing now. (laughter and applause)

And in the spring of nineteen (hundred and) forty, before we were attacked (as you well remember), I called for the (a) production of fifty thousand airplanes -- and that same Republican candidate spoke scornfully of such a proposition (proposal), calling it a "publicity stunt," and saying it would take four years to reach such a goal.

But (Nevertheless), we have since (then) produced more than two hundred and forty thousand air (war)planes. (applause) Fifty thousand, and laughed at! But today we have attained a production rate of more than nine thousand per month -- more than a (one) hundred thousand a (per) year. (applause)

And we have trained (more than) eight hundred and fifty thousand American boys to be the pilots, the navigators, the bombardiers, aerial gunners and other (aerial crew) members of their crews.

I -- I admit that the (these) figures seem fantastic -- but the (such) results were not impossible to (for) those who had real faith in America. (applause)

I won't go on very long with these figures, but they ought to be known. In nineteen hundred and forty, we had a regular Army of approximately two hundred and fifty thousand, and a reserve, including the National Guard, of three hundred and fifty thousand.

Today, there's a bit of a difference. We have

eight million in our Army, including a (one) hundred and twenty six thousand women. (applause) And here's a piece of news: More than half of our Army is overseas.

Now the (our) Navy. In nineteen (hundred and) forty we had three hundred and sixty-nine thousand combat ships. (and) We had one hundred and eighty-nine thousand men.

Today, we have more than fifteen hundred combat vessels, supported by an armada of fifty thousand other ships, including landing craft. (applause) As you know, a lot of those landing craft have been built not very far away from here, on the Delaware River. (applause) And we have more than three and a half million men in our Navy, and over one hundred thousand women. (applause)

Never before in history -- at least, in our history -- have the soldiers and sailors of any nation gone into battle so thoroughly trained, so thoroughly equipped, so well fed, (and) so thoroughly supported as the American soldiers and sailors fighting today in Europe, Asia and the Pacific. (applause)

Why, in his report to the Secretary of War, in nineteen (hundred and) forty-three -- over a year ago -- General Marshall wrote, "In matters of personnel, military intelligence, training, supply and preparation of war plans, sound principles, good (and) policies had been established in the preparation for just such an emergency as arose."

After we were attacked by the Japanese, and Hitler and Mussolini had declared war on us, some people in this country urged that we go on the defensive -- that we pull in

our fleet to guard this continent -- that we send no forces overseas.

That policy was rejected. (applause) In -- in my first war message to the Congress, less than a month after Pearl Harbor, I said this:

"We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy -- we shall hit him and hit him again wherever -- (applause) -- wherever and whenever we can reach him. We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds."

(applause)

And that, my friends, is the policy that we have successfully followed.

In our over-all strategy, we planned our war effort in three phases:

The first phase could be called "plugging the line" -- that (which) meant stopping the Germans, (and) stopping the Japs from expanding their conquests to such (key) points as Australia and the British Isles -- for England then was still very vulnerable to invasion.

Within a month after Pearl Harbor, American expeditionary forces were moving across the Pacific many thousands of miles to Australia, and across the Atlantic more thousands of miles to Northern Ireland and England. Our air forces went to the Southwest Pacific, to India, to China, the Middle East and Great Britain.

In this first phase we furnished arms to the British that (which) helped them to stop the Germans in Egypt -- and arms to the Russians that (which) helped them to stop the Germans at Stalingrad. (applause)

Our own -- and our own growing forces stopped the Japanese in the Coral Sea and at Midway. (applause)

The second phase was the shattering of the enemy's outer defenses -- establishing bases from which to launch our major attacks.

That (This) phase began with the operations in New Guinea, in the Solomons and in North Africa. It continued through all (of) the operations -- places with funny names -- (in) the Marshalls, the Gilberts, (Aleutians), the Marianas, the Carolines, the Aleutians, and now the Philippines. (--) (applause) And it went on in Europe with (the) landings in Sicily and Italy and finally in France itself. (applause)

And so the war in Europe has reached the final, decisive phase, the attack on Germany itself. (cheers and applause)

Well, it's true (But) we will have (have) much longer and much farther to go in the war against Japan. But every day that goes by speeds it up.

All of these operations had to be planned far in advance (---and). You can't imagine how tired I sometimes get when I am told that something that looks simple is going to take three months -- six months to do. Well, that is part of the job of a Commander-in-Chief. Sometimes I have to be disappointed, sometimes I have to go along with the estimates of

the professionals. That does not mean merely drawing arrows on maps -- planning. It has meant planning in terms of precisely how many men will be needed, and how many ships -- warships, cargo ships, landing craft -- how many bombers, (and) how many fighter planes -- (and) how much equipment -- food -- (and) what types of equipment down to the last cartridge. And, incidentally, it has meant getting them -- getting all of them to the right place at the right time (moment). (applause)

It has meant establishing for our Army and Navy supply lines extending over fifty-six thousand miles -- more than twice the circumference of this earth. It has meant establishing the lines of the Air Transport Command -- a (one) hundred and fifty thousand miles of air -- air supply systems running on the clock (regularly).

It has meant moving supplies along these lines at the rate of almost three million long tons a month -- well, I don't grasp it but lately, but I am beginning to understand what that means -- requiring five hundred and seventy-six (seven) cargo ships to leave our ports with supplies every month. It has meant moving more than fourteen million barrels of gasoline and oil a month, requiring a (one) hundred and fifty-six tanker sailings a month. And all these ships and all these tankers were (all) built in American shipyards. (applause)

So, to sum it up, I think we can say that the production necessary to equip and maintain our vast force of fighting men on global battlefronts is without parallel.

I need not repeat the figures. The facts speak

for themselves. They speak with the thunder of tens of thousands of guns on battlefields all over the world. They speak with the roar of more than a (one) million tons of bombs dropped by our air forces.

The whole story of our vast effort in this war has been the (a) story of incredible achievement -- the story of the job that has been done by an Administration which, I am told, is "old, (and) tired and quarrelsome." (laughter)

And while we have been doing that job, we have constantly investigated and publicized our whole management of the war effort. I call particular attention to the thorough and painstaking and completely non-partisan work of that committee of the Senate that (which) was organized and presided over by Harry Truman. (applause)

I am very certain that the Truman Committee has done a job that (which) will live in history as an example of honest, efficient government at work. (applause)

But there is one thing I want to say, (--) and it can't (cannot) be told in figures.

I want to express the conviction that the greatest of our past American heroes -- the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg -- in this State -- and San Juan Hill and Manila Bay and the Argonne -- would consider themselves honored to be associated with our fighting men of today. (cheers and applause)

Those boys hated and these boys hate war.

The average American citizen is not a soldier by choice.

But our boys have proved that they can take on the best of (that) our militaristic enemies, the best that they can put forward -- they can take them on and beat them to it. (cheers and applause) And we must never forget that our Allies, by resisting the aggressors to the last ditch, gave us time to train our men and prepare their equipment before they went into battle.

The quality of our American fighting men is not all a matter of training or (of) equipment, or (of) organization. It is essentially a matter of spirit. That spirit is expressive of their faith in America. (applause)

The most important fact in our national life today is the essential fact of eleven million young Americans in our Armed forces -- more than half of them overseas.

When you multiply that eleven million by their families and their friends, you have the whole American people personally involved in this war -- a war that (which) was forced upon us, a war which we did our utmost to avoid, a war that (which) came upon us as inevitably as an earthquake.

I think particularly of the mothers and wives and sisters and sweethearts of the men in service. There are great numbers of these gallant women who do not have the satisfaction or the (and) distraction of jobs in war plants. But they have the quiet, essential job of keeping the homes going, caring for the children or the old folks.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I hear very often from a great many of these women who live in loneliness and anxiety while

their men are far away.

I can speak as one who knows something of the feelings of a parent with sons who are in the (line of) battle-line overseas. I know that, regardless of the outcome -- (applause) -- I know that regardless of the outcome of this election, our sons must and will go on fighting for whatever length of time is necessary for victory. (applause)

And when this great job in winning the (this) war is done, the men of our armed forces will be demobilized, they will be (and) returned to their homes just as rapidly as possible. (applause) The War Department and the Navy Department(s) are pledged to that. I am pledged to that. The very law of the (this) land, enacted by the Congress, is pledged to that. And there are no strings attached to the (this) pledge. (applause)

While this (the) agony of the war lasts, the families of our fighting men can be certain that their boys are being given and always will be given, if it's possible, the best equipment, the best arms, the best food, the best medical care that the resources of the (this) nation and the genius of the (this) nation can provide. (applause) And I am not engaging (indulging) in undue boasting when I say that that is the best in the world. (cheers and applause)

Take health, as an example. The health of our Army and Navy and Marines and Coast Guard is now better than it was in peace time. Although our forces have been fighting in all kinds of climates, (and) exposed to all the diseases, the death rate from disease has shrunk -- shrunk to one twentieth

of one percent -- in other words, one -- in other words, less than one seventh of the death rate from disease for men in the same age group in civilian life. (applause) That is something to think over and repeat to your neighbor. And the mortality rate among the people who have been wounded is less than three percent, as compared with over eight percent in the last world war.

I have chosen Navy Day (--) today (--) to talk about the eleven million Americans in uniform, who with all their strength are engaged in giving us a chance to achieve peace through victory in war. (applause)

These (Those) men could not have been armed, (and) they could not be equipped as they are, had it not been for the miracle of our production here back (at) home. (applause)

I think that the production that (which) has flowed from this country to all the battlefronts of the world has been due to the efforts of American business, and American labor, and American farmers -- working together as a patriotic team. (applause)

And the businessmen -- and this meeting is under their auspices -- the businessmen of America have had a vital part in this war. They have displayed the highest type -- type of patriotism by their devotion, their industry, their ingenuity, and their cooperation with their Government.

I am proud of the fact that in this Administration today there are a great many Republican businessmen who have placed patriotism above party. (applause)

But, unfortunately, there are some Republican politicians -- in and out of the Congress -- who are introducing a very ugly implication into this campaign -- an implication of profound concern to all Americans, regardless of party, who believe that this war must be followed by a just and lasting peace.

These politicians are stating that the Republicans in the Congress would cooperate with a Republican President in establishing a world organization for peace -- (boos) -- while at the same time they are clearly intimating that they would not cooperate toward the same end in the event of a Democratic victory. (more boos)

That, coming on the closing days of the campaign, it seems to me, is a deliberate and indefensible effort to place political advantage not only above devotion to country but also above our very deep desire to avoid the death and destruction that (which) would be caused by future wars. (applause)

I -- I do not think that the American people will take kindly to this policy of "Vote my way or I won't play." (laughter and applause)

May this country never forget that its power in this war has come from the efforts of its citizens, living in freedom and equality. (applause)

May this country hold in piety and steadfast faith those who have battled and died to give it new opportunities for service and growth.

May it reserve its contempt for those who see in it only an instrument for their own selfish interests.

May it marshal its righteous wrath against those who would divide it by racial struggles. (applause)

And may it lavish its scorn upon the faint-hearted.

Finally, (And) may this country always give its support to those who have engaged with us in the war against oppression and who will continue with us in the struggle for a vital, creative peace.

And so I say, God Bless the United States of America.

(prolonged cheers and applause)

ADDRESS Of The President  
At Fenway Park, Boston, Massachusetts  
November 4, 1944, at 9.00 p.m., e.w.t.  
Radio Broadcast

My good friend Mayor Tobin, and my old friends of  
Boston:

This is not my first visit to Boston. Therefore, I shall not review all my previous visits. I would (should) have to go on talking for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot of money. (laughter)

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American -- a great American named Al Smith. (applause)

And you did vote for that eternally "Happy Warrior."

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -- both went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of the Nation did.

And this year -- and I am making no predictions, I just have a little hope -- (laughter) -- this year we would like to welcome into the family (field) Maine and Vermont. (laughter and applause)

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, having nominated Al Smith for the second time for the Presidency, I was then running at his request for the Governorship of New York. And people were then -- even then -- saying that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office. (laughter and applause)

Well, you know, I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I managed to survive my four years as Governor of New York. (laughter) And at the end of that time I went elsewhere. (more laughter)

In this connection, in 1928 -- that first year that I ran for Governor -- Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington, "It is perfectly evident that you don't have to be an acrobat to be President (either)." (applause)

And when I talked here in Boston in 1928, I talked about racial and religious intolerance, which was then -- as (it) unfortunately it still is, to some extent -- "a menace to the liberties of America."

And all the bigots in those days were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life. (applause)

And, thinking back a good many years, here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. (applause) I reminded a genealogical society -- I think they are called "ancestor worshippers" -- I said to them that they knew (You know) that all of our people all over the country -- except the pure-blooded Indians -- are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came over here on the Mayflower.

Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, the Carusos, the Kowalskis, the Schultzes, the Olsens, the Swobodas, and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lowells. (laughter and applause)

Now all of these people, and others like them, are the life-blood of America. They are the hope of the world.

And it's (It is) our duty to them to make sure that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance -- (applause) -- and that there is no room for snobbery.

Our young men and our young women are fighting not only for their existence, (and) their homes and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, and work, and speak and worship -- in peace, and freedom and security.

And if we can shorten this (the) war by one month -- even by one minute -- we shall have saved the lives of some of our young men and women. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive -- to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- over the hard road to final victory.

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job! (applause)

Now, although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never

had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard, (and) bloody fighting ahead (of us).

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- we all know that -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

I am sure that any real American -- any real, red-blooded American -- would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when our own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under (the) same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again. (loud and prolonged applause)

And when our enemies flung the gauge of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went (out) after them -- and we started punching -- and we are still punching. And we have driven our enemies into their own corner. (applause)

Well, this is like a sport in the Navy called a "free-for-all." One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out for the count. (applause) And the others are getting groggier and groggier every day. (applause)

(And) We are made happy by the fact that the Italian people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace. (applause)

I think that history will say that we were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in all our

history. (applause)

On the day of Pearl Harbor, for example -- the day before the declaration of war -- we had more than two million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before that, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building, and for the first time of any length since 1933 it had been building. It had been building -- indeed, it had been building ever since 1933 -- it started to build up again, and we know why it went down -- when I first used PWA funds to start a naval building program -- that (which) included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, by the way, that you have read of, authorized ten years ago, was the ENTERPRISE -- a name well known throughout New England, the original ENTERPRISE being the hero of the War of 1812 -- but this new ENTERPRISE, a grand and gallant ship, (which) has covered herself with glory all through this war, and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters. (applause)

But (And) -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout -- a shout heard 'round the world -- the shout of "Let's go!"

And we went! (applause)

Everywhere I go I find that the (average) American citizen is doing some hard thinking, some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of our people is not short. The years from 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

Since those dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been built (erected) to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be. (applause)

What kind of fortifications? Well, (These) fortifications, for example, (have) provided protection for your bank deposits and your investments -- your standard of living -- your right to organize unions and to bargain collectively with your employers. (applause)

Your fortifications (They) protect your soil and rivers and trees -- your heritage of natural resources. They provide you with protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age -- they protect you against inflation and runaway prices. (applause)

Now, these fortifications, they are now manned by zealous defenders -- and these defenders are not Communists, and these defenders (they) are not fossils. (applause)

Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible

obstacle to their original construction? (cries of No)

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against progressive legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation? (cries of No)

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal through all these years have made an about-face and are now willing and able to fight for the objectives of the New Deal? (more cries of No)

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun, and they promise that they, if elected -- and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is -- (laughter and prolonged applause) -- they promise that if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history. (laughter) It sort of brings to my mind that that is just the thing that the "outs" always say.

What a job that would do (be), what it would be, that house-cleaning! And it would mean, among other things, sweeping out with my Administration the most efficient and (the) most patriotic Republicans that could be found in the whole country. (laughter and applause)

But -- despite these campaign promises of wholesale house-cleaning -- have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted? (cries of No)

Have you heard -- have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws -- or sweeping out any of the

agencies that (which) administer them (those laws)?

Oh, no -- oh, no, on that subject the Republican politicians are very uncharacteristically silent. (laughter)

This Administration -- this Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert. Assert. And I hope my friends of the press will not change that to admit. (laughter)

But, my friends, I think it is a pretty good batting average. (applause) (c) Our mistakes -- our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens of our civilization. Never have we made the inexcusable mistake -- we know some who have -- of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction, and people were standing in breadlines. (applause)

I -- I thank God that it cannot be charged that at any time, under any circumstances, have we made the mistake of forgetting our sacred obligation to the American people.

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of mistake. (applause)

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with its record of very deep concern for human welfare could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons, and my sons, come home from the battlefronts -- (applause) -- and they are coming home just as quickly as they are no longer needed for the essential job of this war -- (great applause) -- we are going to see that they have work -- honest, self-respecting jobs. (applause)

We are going to see to it that those of them seeking farms, for instance, get a real chance to settle on land of their own.

We are going to see to it that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party that (which) works both sides of a (the) street -- a party that (which) has one candidate making campaign promises of all kinds of added government expenditures in the West, while a running mate of his demands less government expenditures in the East. (laughter)

You know -- just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this -- (applause) -- this -- this is really a funny campaign. (laughter)

I think I heard some campaign orator say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change. (cries of No)

I believe I heard some campaign orator say that the (this) "incompetent" Administration had developed a program that (which) was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change. (cries of No)

I think I heard some campaign orator -- you can identify him -- (laughter) -- say that we have so thoroughly shifted the control over the (our) banks from Wall Street.

and State Street to Washington, D. C. (the Capital of the United States) -- that it is time for a change. (more cries of No)

And I am quite sure that I have heard somebody say that this "chaotic" Administration has done such an amazing job of war production -- that it is time for a change. (more cries of No)

(I think I even heard somebody say that these "tired, quarrelsome" old men -- are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.)

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. Whether I win or lose, I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of the biggest vote in all (our) American history. (applause)

And I am hoping to see (that means at least) fifty million American (votes) voters go to the polls.

And we could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

Just -- just the other day you people here in Boston witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth. (laughter)

Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said -- and -- and pardon me if I quote him correctly -- (laughter) -- that happens to be an old habit of mine -- (more laughter) -- he said that, quote, "the Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government

of the United States." Unquote. (boos)

However, on that very same day, that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester, and he said that with Republican victory in November, quote, "we can end one-man government, and we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States." (laughter)

Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy?  
(more laughter)

I do not think that we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, (--) which we do not.  
(applause)

No, we want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live -- (applause) -- under our Constitution -- (applause) -- we want to live under the Constitution which has served pretty well for a (one) hundred and fifty-five years. (applause)  
And, if this -- if this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would propose a toast that we will continue to live under this Constitution (it) for another (one) hundred and fifty-five years. (applause)

I must confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation. (applause)

Everybody knows that I was reluctant to run for the Presidency again this year. But since this (the) campaign (has) developed, I tell you frankly that I have become most anxious to win -- (great and prolonged applause) -- and I say that for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a

campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood. (applause) Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America racial or religious intolerance. (applause)

When any politician or any political candidate stands up and says, solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the United States -- your Government -- could be sold out to (the) Communists -- then I say that that candidate reveals -- and I'll be polite -- a shocking lack of trust in America. (applause)

He reveals -- he reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy -- in the spiritual strength of our people.

Then if (ever) there was ever a time in which that (the) spiritual strength of our people was put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression (of) from 1929 to 1933.

(Then) Our people, in those days, might have turned to alien ideologies -- like communism or fascism.

But, -- our democratic faith was too sturdy. What the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy but more democracy, and that's (is) what they got. (great applause)

Yes, the American people proved in the black days of depression -- as they have (again) proved again in this war -- that there is no chink in the armor of democracy.

On this subject -- and on all subjects -- I say to you, my friends, what I said when first you conferred upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

"We have nothing to fear but fear itself." (great applause)

And today I can add a corollary to that. I do not think that you will ever cast the majority of your votes for fearful men. (applause)

(We) Now we face the enormous, (and) the complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic -- that historic job, we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of all of those who have fought -- who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn -- the very judgment of God.

I believe that we Americans will want the peace to be built by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight. (applause)

Peace -- peace no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, and indomitable will to victory. (applause)

We -- we in this country have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against (the) droughts and (the) storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

Why, we fought the Revolutionary War for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that -- in those days (war) we pledged "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred

honor."

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is now for us (now) -- for us living -- to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, in engineers, and farmers, and businessmen, and scientists.

It will be an America in which there is a genuine partnership between the farmer and the worker and the businessman -- in which there are abundant jobs and an expanding economy of peace.

Yes, all (And) around us we see an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of the way that we have unitedly waged the battles against tyranny and reaction and wage it through all the difficulties and the disappointments that may ever clog the wheels of progress.

And I say that we must wage it in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with that (the) association ever growing. (applause)

I say that we must wage a peace to attract the

highest hearts, (and) the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory. (applause)

And that -- that conception is founded on (upon) faith -- faith in the unlimited destiny -- the unconquerable spirit (--) of the United States of America.

(great and prolonged applause)

THE PRESIDENT'S FOURTH INAUGURAL ADDRESS  
From The South Portico Of The White House  
January 20, 1945, about 12.06 p.m., e.w.t.  
Broadcast Nationally

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, My Friends:  
You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this Inauguration be simple and its words brief.

We Americans of today, together with our Allies, are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage -- of our resolve -- of our wisdom -- of our essential democracy (decency).

If we meet that test -- successfully and honorably -- we shall perform a service of historic importance -- of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout all time.

As I stand here today, having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen -- in the presence of our God -- I know that it is America's purpose that we shall not fail.

In the days and (in) the years that are to come, we shall work for a just and honorable (durable) peace, a durable peace, as today we work and fight for total victory in war.

We can and we will achieve such a peace.

We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately -- but we still shall strive. We may make mistakes -- but they must never be mistakes which result from faintness of heart or abandonment of moral principle.

I remember that my old schoolmaster, Dr. Peabody, said -- in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled -- he said, "Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights -- then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend."

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument; it is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build our solid structure of democracy.

And so today, in this year of war, 1945, we have learned lessons -- at a fearful cost -- and we shall profit by them.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that, "The only way to have a friend is to be one."

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust -- or (and) with fear. We can gain

it only if we proceed with the understanding and the confidence and the courage which flow from conviction.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in many ways. He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom and truth. He has given to our country a faith which has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

So we pray (now) to Him now for the vision to see our way clearly -- to see the way that leads to a better life for ourselves and for all our fellow men -- and to the achievement of His will to peace on earth.

(applause)

ADDRESS Of The President  
To The Joint Session Of The Congress  
Delivered In The Well Of The House Chamber  
Upon His Return From The Crimea Conference  
March 1, 1945, at 12.30 p.m., e.w.t.  
Radio Broadcast

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the  
Congress (Senate and of the House of Representatives):

I hope that you will pardon me for an unusual posture  
of sitting down during the presentation of what I want to say,  
but I know that you will realize that it makes it a lot easier  
for me in not having to carry about ten pounds of steel 'round,  
on the bottom of my legs; and also because of the fact that I  
have just completed a fourteen-thousand-mile trip. (applause)

First of all, I want to say, it is good to be home.  
(applause)

It has been a long journey. And I hope you will also  
agree that it has been, so far, (was) a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether it  
is (to be) entirely fruitful or not lies to a great extent in  
your hands. For unless you are here -- you here in the halls  
of the American Congress -- with the support of the American  
people -- concur in the general conclusions (decisions) reached  
at a place called Yalta, and give them your active support, the  
meeting will not have produced lasting results.

And that is why I have come before you at the earl-  
iest hour I could after my return. I want to make a personal

report to you -- and, at the same time, to the people of the country. Many months of earnest work are ahead of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international peace, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly -- together.

I am returning from this trip -- that (which) took me so (as) far (as seven thousand miles from the White House --) -- refreshed and inspired. I was well the entire time. I did not -- I was not ill for a second, until I arrived back in Washington, and there I heard all of the rumors which had occurred in my absence. (laughter) Yes, I returned from the trip refreshed and inspired. The Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel. (laughter) We seem to thrive on it! (applause)

And far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in the United States. The modern miracles of rapid communication have (has) made -- have made this world very small. (; and) We must always bear in mind that fact (in mind), when we speak (think) or think (speak) of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington -- I might say from not only the Executive branch with all its departments, but also from the Legislative branch -- its two Departments -- and except where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages any place in the world. And of course, in a grave emergency, we could (even) have even risked the breaking of the security rule.

I come from the Crimea(n) Conference (my fellow Americans) with a firm belief that we have made a good start on the road to a world of peace.

There were two main purposes in this (at the) Crimea(n) Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed, and (with) the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German Army, and the German people, are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied Armies. And every hour gives us added pride in the heroic evidence of -- the heroic advance of our troops in Germany -- on (over) German soil -- toward a meeting with the gallant Red Army. (applause)

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord that (which) would bring order and security after the chaos of the war, (and) that (which) would give some assurance of lasting peace among the nations of the world.

That goal, too -- in that goal -- toward that goal (also), a tremendous stride was made.

At Teheran, a little over a year ago, there were long-range military plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran, however, at that time, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political arrangements (agreements) were made -- and none was attempted.

At the Crimea(n) Conference, however, the time

had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field.

There was on all sides at this Conference an enthusiastic effort to reach an agreement. Since the time of (the) Teheran (Conference), a year ago, there had developed among all of us a -- what shall I call it? -- a greater facility in negotiating with each other (, which) that augurs well for the (future) peace of the world. We know each other better.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

There were a number of things that we did that were concrete -- that were definite. For instance, the lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of representatives -- of civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long -- fourteen months. During that (this) long period, local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugoslavia.

Therefore, we decided at Yalta that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three governments to do it -- to meet more often in the future, we would make that sure by arranging that there were to (would) be (more) frequent personal contacts for the exchange of views, between the Secretaries of State and the Foreign Ministers of these three Powers.

(Accordingly,) We arranged for periodic meetings (of the foreign secretaries of Great Britain, Russia and the

United States) at intervals of three or four months. And I feel very confident that under this arrangement that there will be no recurrences of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide cooperation and collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for the complete (a final) and final (complete) military victory over Germany, there were other (a number of) problems of vital political consequence.

For instance, first, there were the problems of the occupation and control of Germany -- after victory -- the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither the Nazis(m) nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and the civilization of the world. (applause)

Secondly -- again for example -- there was the settlement of the few differences that (which) remained among us with respect to the International Security Organization after the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. As you remember, at that time, I said -- after it -- that we had agreed ninety percent. Well, that's -- that's -- that's pretty good -- pretty good percentage. I think the other ten percent were ironed out at Teheran -- at Yalta.

Thirdly, there were the -- the -- there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas that would be in the future or which have been (which had been or would be) liberated from the Nazi yoke. Very special problem. We over here find it difficult to understand the

ramifications of many of these problems in foreign lands, but we are trying to.

Fourth, (there were) the special problems created by a few instances such as Poland and Yugo-Slavia.

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters and we argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached. And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together. (applause)

Of course, we know that it was Hitler's hope -- and the German warlords' -- that we would not agree -- that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity, a crack that (which) would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for many months.

But Hitler has failed. (applause)

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united -- not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united -- to be united with each other -- and with all peace-loving nations -- so that the ideal of lasting (world) peace will become a reality.

The Soviet, and British and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other (, and). They conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, and (with) Prime

Minister Churchill and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of (all) the Allied Powers (forces). They completed their plans for the final knock-out blows to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran Conference, the Russian front, for instance, was (so far) removed so far from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. They were too far apart. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland (, and). They are fighting on the Eastern soil of Germany herself; British and American troops are now on German soil close to the (River) Rhine River in the West. It's (is) a different situation today from what it was fourteen months ago; a closer tactical liaison has become possible for the first time in Europe -- and, in the Crimea(n) Conference, (this) that was something else that was (has been) accomplished.

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under the command of General Eisenhower on the Western front, and those armies under the command of the Soviet marshals on that long (the) Eastern front, and also with our armies in Italy -- without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington or (and) London as in the past.

You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombings by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance

on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used -- in the day-by-day tactics of the war -- and we have begun to realize, I think, that there is all the difference in the world between tactics on the one side, and strategy on the other -- day by day tactics of the war in direct support of the Soviet Armies, as well as in the support of our own on the Western front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves, German (and) materials to the Eastern and Western fronts from other parts of Germany or (and) from Italy.

Arrangements have been (were) made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort -- American, British, and Russian.

Details of (all) these plans and arrangements are military secrets, of course; but they are going to (will) hasten -- this tying of things in together is going to hasten the day of the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow. And I think all three of us at the Conference felt that they will learn more about them tomorrow and the next day -- and the (every) day after that! (applause)

There will be no respite to these attacks (for them). We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender. (applause)

You know, I've always felt that common sense prevails in the long run -- quiet, overnight thinking. I think that's true in Germany, just as much as it is here.

The German people, as well as the German soldiers must realize that (the) sooner -- the sooner they give up and surrender -- surrender by groups or by (as) individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to reestablish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

We made it clear, again, at Yalta, and I now repeat (--) that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders have deliberately withheld that part of the Yalta declaration from the German press and radio. They seek to convince the people of Germany that the Yalta declaration does mean slavery and destruction for them -- they are working at it day and night -- for it is -- for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins, how to (and) deceive their people into continued and useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at the (this) Conference just what unconditional<sup>\*</sup> surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russia, France, and the United States. Each of these nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany -- and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated -- coordinated in Berlin by a Control Council composed of

representatives of the four nations.

Unconditional surrender (also) means something else.  
It means the end of Nazism. (applause) (, and) It means the  
end of the Nazi party -- and (all) of all its barbaric laws  
and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence  
in (the) public, private and cultural life of Germany.

It means for the Nazi war criminals a punishment  
that is speedy and just -- and severe.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the  
destruction of its militarism, of (and) its military equipment;  
the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all (of)  
its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German  
General Staff which has so often shattered the peace of the  
world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations  
-- reparations in kind for the damage which (it) has been done  
to the innocent victims of its aggression.

By compelling reparations in kind -- in plants, (and)  
in machinery, (and) in rolling stock, (and) in raw materials --  
we shall avoid the mistake that we and other people -- other  
nations made after the last war, the (of) demanding of repara-  
tions in the form of money which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to be-  
come a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple -- it is  
to secure the peace of the rest of the (future) world now and

in the future. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare. (applause)

Now, these (That) objectives will not hurt (harm) the German people. On the contrary, they will give them -- they (it) will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body politic, which for generations has produced only misery and only pain to (for) the whole world.

During my stay in --in (at) Yalta, I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury, the terrible (and) destruction that (which) comes out of German militarism. Yalta, on the Black Sea, had no military significance of any kind. It had (, and) no defense(s).

Before the last war, it had been a resort -- a resort for people like (the) Czars and princes, and (for the) aristocracy (of Russia) -- and the hangers-on. (Afterward) However, after the war, after the Red Revolution, (and) until the attack on (upon) the Soviet Union by Hitler, a few years ago, the palaces, (and) the villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took these former palaces and villas -- took them over for their own use. The only reason that the so called former palace of the Czar was still habitable, when we got there, was that it had been given -- or he thought it

had been given -- to a German general for his own property and his own use. And when Yalta was so destroyed, he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought would become his own, nice villa. It was a -- it was a useful rest and recreation center for hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmers and their families, up to the time that it was taken again by the Germans. The Nazi officers took these places for their own use, and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea -- just almost a year ago -- last April, I think it was -- all of these villas were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all of them were destroyed by bombs placed on the inside. And even the humblest of the homes of Yalta were not spared.

There was little left (in Yalta) of it except blank (but) walls -- ruins -- destruction (and desolation).

Sevastopol -- that was a fortified port, about forty or fifty miles away -- there again was (also) a scene of utter destruction -- a large city with great navy yards and fortifications -- I think (with) less than a dozen buildings were left intact in the entire (whole) city.

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry -- but I saw Sevastopol and Yalta! And I know that there is not (enough) room enough on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency. (prolonged applause)

Let us go on with the story, which I hope to do under an hour.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimean (sic) Conference were the agreements reached with

respect to a general international -- international organization for lasting world peace. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached (at Dumbarton Oaks). It involved the procedure of voting -- of voting in the Security Councils. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind -- and many conferences.

At the Crimea(n) Conference, the Americans made a proposal -- a proposal on the (this) subject which, after full discussion, I am glad to say, was unanimously adopted by the other two nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of it (that) (agreement) publicly, but it will be in a (very) short time.

When the conclusions reached (at the Crimean Conference) with respect to voting (in the Security Council) are made known, I think and I hope that (I believe) you will find them fair -- that you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem; because it's -- it's a -- might almost say it's a legislative problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

There is going to be held, as you know -- after we have straightened that voting matter out -- there is going to be held in San Francisco, a meeting of all the United Nations of the world, on the 25th of April -- next month.

(A conference of all the United Nations of the

world will meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945). There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization upon (under) which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we are (shall) not making (make) the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to win (get) the war finally (over quickly), we work together to keep it from happening again.

I -- as you know -- I have always been a believer in the document called the Constitution of the United States. And I spent a good deal of time in educating two other nations of the world in regard to the Constitution of the United States. The charter has to be -- and should be -- approved by the Senate of the United States, under the Constitution. I think the other nations all know it now. (laughter) I am aware of that fact, and now all the other nations are. And we hope that the Senate will approve of what is set forth as the charter of the United Nations when they all come together in San Francisco next month.

(I am well aware of the constitutional fact -- as are all the United Nations -- that this charter must be approved by two thirds of the Senate of the United States -- as will some of the other arrangements made at Yalta.)

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this government in the creation of the

# International Security Organization.

The Senate and the House (of Representatives) will both be represented at the San Francisco Conference, (. The) the Congressional delegates (to the San Francisco Conference) to (will) consist of an equal number of -- and Senatorial -- an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American Delegation is -- in every sense of the word -- bipartisan.

But, I think that world peace is not exactly a party question. I think that Republicans want peace just as much as Democrats. (applause) It is not a party question -- any more than is military victory -- the winning of the war.

When the (our) Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest back in 1940 -- '39 -- and then by the Japanese treachery in (of) 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected, I think, by every patriotic American, (and) by every human soul overseas, too.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be just an American peace, or a British peace, or a Russian, (a) French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations -- or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It must be a structure of complete -- it cannot be, what some people think, a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace -- and it will be a peace --

based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter -- on the concept(ion) of the dignity of the human being -- and on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

As the Allied Armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated people(s) whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four long years, (and) whose economy has (had) been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas -- that is not unexpected -- as in Greece or in (and) Poland or in (and) Yugo-Slavia, and there may be more (other places). Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of these places queer (them vaguely defined) ideas of -- for instance, "spheres of influence" that (which) were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go on unchecked, these developments might have had tragic results in time.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular nation or on another. It is the kind of development that (which) is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and (to) assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems that (which) may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of liberated areas. Things that might happen that we

can't foresee at this moment might happen suddenly -- unexpectedly -- next week or next month. And I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement -- and, incidentally, a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from (the) Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability -- after hostilities -- to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see -- to see to it that interim governing -- the people who carry on the interim government between occupation by (sic) Germany, and by true independence (sic), that such an interim government will be (authorities are) as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible thereafter.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles away (overseas) can no longer be avoided, I think, by this great nation. Certainly, I don't want to live to see another war. As I have said, the world is smaller -- smaller every year (it is a smaller world). The United States now exerts a tremendous (vast) influence in the cause of peace (throughout all the world). What we people over here are thinking and talking about is in the interest of peace.

because it's known all over the world. The slightest remark in the -- either House of the Congress, it's known all over the world the following day. We (It) will continue to exert that influence, only if we are (it is) willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It will (would) be our own tragic loss, I think, if (were) we were to shirk that responsibility.

The final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly, therefore; and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way a hundred percent (100%) -- nor will Russia nor (or) Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal answers -- solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive toward that (the) ideal. But I am sure that (--) under the agreements reached at Yalta (--) there will be (a) more stable political Europe -- and the parts of it -- than ever before.

Of course, once that there has been a true (free) expression of the peoples' will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends -- with the exception only of such action as may be agreed on (upon) by the (in the) International Security Organization that we hope to set up.

The United Nations must also (soon) begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy -- I don't want them starving to death -- so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks

and locomotives, and things like that. They have left the (their) industry of these places stagnant and much of the (their) agricultural(e) areas are unproductive. The Nazis have left a complete ruin, or a partial ruin in their wake.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the national interest that (of) all of us -- all of us (to) see to it that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continuous (continued) relief from us. I should say that was an argument based on plain common sense.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allied Powers (Allies) (in the liberated areas) was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in post-war Europe -- as it has been sometimes before -- and we came to the conference determined to find a common ground for its solution. And we did -- even though everybody doesn't agree with us, obviously.

Our objective was to help to create a strong, independent, and prosperous nation. That's the thing we must always remember, those -- those words, agreed to by Russia, by Britain, and by me: the objective of making Poland a strong, independent and prosperous nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves.

To achieve that (this) objective, it is (was) necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. There were, as you know, two governments -- one in London,

one in Lublin -- practically in Russia. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland. Poland needs a temporary government in the worst way -- an ad interim government, I think is another way of putting it.

However, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary to prevent that from happening again.

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was, frankly, a compromise. I didn't agree with all of it, by any means, but we didn't go as far as Britain wanted, in certain -- certain areas; we didn't go so far as Russia wanted, in certain areas; and we didn't go so far as I wanted, in certain areas. It was a compromise. The decision under -- is not only a compromise -- is one, however, under which (however) the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the North and West in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon Line in the

East. The limits of the Western border (boundary) will be permanently fixed in the final Peace Conference. We know, roughly, that it will include -- in the new, strong Poland -- quite a large slice of what now is called Germany. And it was agreed, also, that the new Poland will have a large and long coast line, and many new harbors. Also, that East Prussia -- most of it -- will go to Poland. A corner of it will go to Russia. Also, that the -- what shall I call it? -- the anomaly of the Free State of Danzig, I think Danzig would be a lot better if it were Polish.

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line -- just for example, here is why I compromised -- the people East of the Curzon Line are predominantly white Russian and Ukrainian -- they are not Polish; and a very great majority of (that) the people west of the line are predominantly Polish, except in that part of East Prussia and Eastern Germany, which will go to the new Poland. As far back as 1919, (the) representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples. And you must remember, also, that there was no Poland before -- hadn't been any Polish government -- before 1919 for a great many generations.

I am convinced that the -- that this agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish State.

Now, the Crimea(n) Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rested (the) chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although, for

this reason another nation was not included, France was not a participant in the Conference, no one should detract from the recognition that was (there) accorded there to (of) her role in the future of Europe and the future of the world.

France has been invited to accept -- this was on -- on my -- second part was on my motion (sic) -- France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany, and to participate as a fourth member of the Allied Control Council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco next month.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

And, finally, we have asked (that) France that -- that she be associated with us in our joint responsibility over the liberated areas -- all of them -- in (of) Europe.

Of course, there are a number of smaller things that I haven't got time to go into on which agreement was had, and we hope that things will straighten out.

Agreement was (also) reached on Yugo-Slavia, as announced in the communique; and we hope that it's (is) in process of fulfillment. But, not only there but some other places, we have to remember that there are a great many prima donnas in the world. All of them wish to be heard, before anything becomes final, so we may have a little delay while we listen to more prima donnas.

Quite naturally, this (the Crimean) Conference

concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe -- and not with the Pacific war.

In (At) Malta, however, our Combined British and American Staffs made their plans to increase the attack against Japan.

The Japanese warlords know that they are not being overlooked. They have felt the force of our B-29's, and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States, and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs now know what it means to hear that "The United States Marines have landed." (prolonged applause) And I think I (we) can add that having Iwo Jima in mind, that "The situation is well in hand." (more applause)

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila -- (applause) -- and that Admiral Nimitz is establishing (his) air bases right in their own (the) back yard (of Japan itself -- in Iwo Jima). (more applause)

But, lest somebody else lay off work in the United States, I can repeat what I have said -- a short sentence -- even in my sleep: "We haven't won the wars yet" -- with an S on "wars."

It's (is) (still a tough) a long, tough road to Tokyo. It's longer to go to Tokyo than it is to Berlin, in every sense of the word. The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, we (America) must

be prepared for a long and costly struggle in the Pacific.

But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany. (applause) I say that advisedly, with the thought in mind that that is especially true (,) if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way back (home) from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave (us) me, and a good many of us, an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, (and of) in exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

For instance, on the problem of -- of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem -- the Moslem problem, the Jewish problem -- by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes, than I could have learned in the exchange of two or three dozen letters.

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing the (our) Army and Navy and the Air Force at work.

All Americans, I think, would feel proud -- as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I did.

Against the most efficient professional leaders (soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought -- and won. (applause)

I think that this is our chance to see to it that

the sons and the grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimea was a turning point -- I hope in our history and therefore in the history of the world (in American history). There will soon be presented to the Senate (of the United States) and (to) the American people a great decision that (which) will determine the fate of the United States -- and I think, therefore, the fate of the world -- for generations to come.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

I know that the word "planning" is not looked upon with favor in some circles (quarters). In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning; and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning -- reclamations of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, provision for adequate housing, and a dozen different topics.

The same will be true in relations between nations. For the (a) second time in the lives of most of us this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has now been furnished, and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it -- and sacrifice for it.

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world (again) to survive again.

I think the Crimea(n) Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground of (for) peace. It spells -- it ought to spell -- the end of the system of unilateral action, the (and) exclusive alliances, the (and) spheres of influence, the (and) balances of power and all the other expedients that (which) have been tried for centuries -- and have always failed.

We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

And I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this Conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren -- yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world -- must live, and can live.

And that, my friends, is the only message I can give you. But I feel it very deeply, as I know that all of you are feeling it today, and are going to feel it in the future.

(prolonged applause)

THE LAST ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Prepared For Delivery Over The Radio  
At The Jefferson Day Dinner  
April 13, 1945

Americans are gathered together this evening in communities all over the country to pay tribute to the living memory of Thomas Jefferson -- one of the greatest of all democrats; and I want to make it clear that I am spelling that word "democrats" with a small "d".

I wish I had the power, just for this evening, to be present at all of these gatherings.

In this historic year, more than ever before, we do well to consider the character of Thomas Jefferson as an American citizen of the world.

As Minister to France, then as our first Secretary of State and as our third President, Jefferson was instrumental in the establishment of the United States as a vital factor in international affairs.

It was he who first sent our Navy into far distant waters to defend our rights. And the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine was the logical development of Jefferson's far-seeing foreign policy.

Today this nation which Jefferson helped so greatly to build is playing a tremendous part in the battle for the rights of man all over the world.

Today we are part of the vast Allied force -- a force composed of flesh and blood and steel and spirit -- which is

today destroying the makers of war, the breeders of hatred, in Europe and in Asia.

In Jefferson's time our Navy consisted of only a handful of frigates headed by the gallant U.S.S. CONSTITUTION -- "OLD IRONSIDES" -- but that tiny Navy taught nations across the Atlantic that piracy in the Mediterranean -- acts of aggression against peaceful commerce and the enslavement of their crews was one of those things which, among neighbors, simply was not done.

Today we have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility. Today we can no more escape the consequences of German and Japanese aggression than could we avoid the consequences of attacks by the Barbary Corsairs a century and a half before.

We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility.

Nor, do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a third world war.

We seek peace -- enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars -- yes, an end to this brutal, inhuman and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments.

The once powerful, malignant Nazi state is crumbling. The Japanese war lords are receiving, in their own home-land, the retribution for which they asked when they attacked Pearl Harbor.

But the mere conquest of our enemies is not enough.

We must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and the fears, the ignorance and the greed, which made this horror possible.

Thomas Jefferson, himself a distinguished scientist, once spoke of "the brotherly spirit of Science, which unites into one family all its votaries of whatever grade, and however widely dispersed throughout the different quarters of the globe."

Today, science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another.

Today we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships -- the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace.

Let me assure you that my hand is the steadier for the work that is to be done, that I move more firmly into the task, knowing that you -- millions and millions of you -- are joined with me in the resolve to make this work endure.

The work, my friends, is peace. More than an end of this war -- an end to the beginnings of all wars. Yes, an end, forever, to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by the mass killing of peoples.

Today, as we move against the terrible scourge of

war -- as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world -- the contribution of lasting peace, I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight-edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:

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The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS

January 6, 1937

(TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:)

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF  
THE UNITED STATES:

For the first time in our national history a President delivers his Annual Message to a new Congress within a fortnight of the expiration of his term of office. While there is no change in the Presidency this year, change will occur in future years. It is my belief that under this new constitutional practice, the President should in every fourth year, in so far as seems reasonable, review the existing state of our national affairs and outline broad future problems, leaving specific recommendations for future legislation to be made by the President about to be inaugurated.

At this time, however, circumstances of the moment compel me to ask your immediate consideration of: First, measures extending the life of certain authorizations and powers which, under present statutes, expire within a few weeks; second, an addition to the existing Neutrality Act to cover specific points raised by the unfortunate civil strife in Spain; and, third, a deficiency appropriation bill for which I shall submit estimates this week.

In March, 1933, the problems which faced our nation and which only our national government had the resources to meet, were more serious even than appeared on the surface.

It was not only that the visible mechanism of economic life had broken down. More disturbing was the fact that long neglect of the needs of the underprivileged had brought too many of our people to the verge of doubt as to the successful adaptation of our historic traditions to (the) a complex modern world. In that, lay a challenge to our democratic form of government itself.

Ours was the task to prove that democracy could be made to function in (the) a world of today as effectively as in the simpler world of a hundred years ago. Ours was the task to do more than to argue a theory. The times required the confident answer of performance to those whose instinctive faith in humanity made them want to believe that in the long run democracy would prove superior to more extreme forms of government as a process of getting action when action was wisdom, without the spiritual sacrifices which those other forms of government exact.

That challenge we met. (Applause) To meet it required unprecedented activities under Federal leadership -- to end abuses -- to restore a large measure of material prosperity -- to give new faith to millions of our citizens

who had been traditionally taught to expect that democracy would provide continuously wider opportunity and continuously greater security in a world where science was continuously making material riches more available to man.

In the many methods of attack with which we met (these) those problems, you and I, by mutual understanding and by determination to cooperate, helped to make democracy succeed by refusing to permit unnecessary disagreement to arise between (two of) our two branches of government. (Applause) That spirit of cooperation was able to solve difficulties of extraordinary magnitude and ramification with few important errors, and at a cost that was cheap when measured by the immediate necessities and by the eventual results.

I look forward to a continuance of that cooperation in the next four years. I look forward also to (a) the continuance of the basis of that cooperation -- a mutual respect for each other's proper sphere of functioning in a democracy which is working well, and a common-sense realization of the need for play in the joints of the machine. (Applause)

On that basis, it is within the right of the Congress to determine, for example, which of the many new activities shall be continued or abandoned, increased or curtailed.

On that same basis, the President alone has the responsibility for their administration. I find that this task of executive management has reached the point where our administrative machinery needs comprehensive overhauling. I shall, therefore, shortly address the Congress more fully in regard to modernizing and improving the Executive branch of the government.

That cooperation of the past four years between the Congress and the President has aimed at the fulfillment of a two-fold policy -- first, economic recovery through many kinds of assistance to agriculture, to industry and to banking; and, second, deliberate improvement in the personal security and opportunity of the great mass of our people.

The recovery we sought was not to be merely temporary. It was to be a recovery protected from the causes of previous disasters. With that aim in view -- to prevent a future similar crisis -- you and I joined in a series of enactments -- safe banking and sound currency, the guarantee of bank deposits, protection for the investor in securities, the removal of the threat of agricultural surpluses, insistence on collective bargaining, the outlawing of sweat shops, child labor and unfair trade practices, and, last but not least, the beginnings of security for the aged and the worker. (Applause)

Nor was the recovery that we sought merely a purposeless whirring of machinery. It is important, of course, that every man and woman in the country be able to find work, that every factory run, that business and farming as a whole shall earn profits. But government in a democratic nation does not exist solely, or even primarily, for that purpose.

It is not enough that the wheels turn. They must carry us in the direction of a greater satisfaction in life for the average (man) citizen. (Applause) The deeper purpose of democratic government is to assist as many of its citizens as possible -- especially those who need it most -- to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an opportunity for recreation and culture.

Even with our present recovery we are far from the goal of that deeper purpose. There are far-reaching problems still with us for which democracy must find solutions if it is to consider itself successful. (Applause)

For example, many millions of Americans still live in habitations which not only fail to provide the physical benefits of modern civilization but breed disease and impair the health of future generations. The menace exists not only in the slum areas of the (very large) great

cities, but in many smaller cities as well. It exists on tens of thousands of farms, in varying degrees, in every part of the country.

Another example is the prevalence of an un-American type of tenant farming. I do not suggest that every farm family has the capacity to earn a satisfactory living on its own farm. But many thousands, tens of thousands, of tenant farmers -- indeed most of them, I believe -- with some financial assistance and with some advice and training, can be made self-supporting on land which can eventually belong to them. (Applause) The nation would be wise to offer them that chance instead of permitting them to go along as they do now, year after year, with neither future security as tenants nor hope of ownership of their homes nor expectation of bettering the lot of their children.

Another national problem is the intelligent development of our social security system, the broadening of the services it renders, and practical improvement in its operation. In many nations where such laws are in effect, success in meeting the expectations of the community has come through frequent amendment of the original statute.

And, of course, the most far-reaching and the most inclusive problem of all is that of unemployment and the lack of economic balance of which unemployment is at once the result and the symptom. The immediate question